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THE LIFE  
OF  
JABEZ BUNTING, D.D.,

WITH  
NOTICES OF CONTEMPORARY PERSONS AND EVENTS.

BY HIS SON,  
THOMAS PERCIVAL BUNTING.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK:  
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1859.





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TO  
"THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS,"  
TO WHOM JABEZ BUNTING OWED SO MUCH,  
AND IN WHOSE FELLOWSHIP AND SERVICE HE LIVED AND DIED,  
THIS RECORD OF HIS LIFE AND LABORS  
IS GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY  
DEDICATED.

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## P R E F A C E.

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TOWARD the close of my father's public life, it was his intention, frequently expressed, to look over his papers, and to destroy all which might furnish materials for his biography; and, when casual allusions were made to the possibility of such a record, he often threatened that he would haunt the man who should attempt it. As age crept upon him, however, and he felt himself unequal to heavy labor, other thoughts took possession of his mind. He gradually resigned himself to the conviction that the story of his life and labors must be told, and, after much hesitation, he took steps accordingly.

By his will, dated in 1852, he desired his two elder sons to examine all the papers, letters, and correspondence in his possession at the time of his decease, and privately to destroy such portion thereof as, in their judgment, it might be expedient so to dispose of, leaving his executors to exercise their discretion as to what use should be made of the remainder.

This bequest seemed to convey an intimation of his own wishes on the subject. His eldest son, of whose character and talents he was justly proud, was a minister in the connection to which he himself belonged, and, should that son survive, and feel competent to the undertaking, from him might be expected this last of countless offices of filial reverence and affection.

After my father's death, his family naturally turned their

eyes in the same direction; none with more anxiety than myself. The uncertain state of my brother's health, however, and the pressure of duties which appeared to him to be indispensable, induced him positively to decline the task.

It was then for me to consider whether I durst undertake the necessary toil and responsibility. Unaccustomed to sustained literary effort, and occupied with a harassing profession, I too should have left my honored father's memory to be embalmed by those who did not bear his name but for various and weighty considerations, some of them of a practical character. Of these the chief was that the papers could not be placed in the hands of any other person until they had undergone the scrutiny and partial destruction directed by the will, and had thereby been diminished both in number and in interest, and that this could not be accomplished without long delaying the publication of a Memoir. In my case, however, the processes of examination, and of preparing what was deemed suitable for the press, might be carried on simultaneously. It was farther to be considered that I could make some use even of papers which must be ultimately destroyed. That I was a son did not discourage me; for, if love is blind, so is justice; and, assuming that my conjecture as to my father's own wishes were correct, his faultless judgment had pronounced against the objection. Nor did I think that Jabez Bunting's biographer must necessarily belong to his own profession, since no man more diligently sought the co-operation of the laity in every department of religious service not exclusively clerical. I knew, too, that I might rely with confidence upon the faithful advice and kind assistance of my father's oldest and wisest friends.

I submit myself readily to candid criticism, and shall be dealt with, at all events by my Methodist readers, as well as I deserve. It is by way of explanation, therefore, and not

of apology, that I add one observation. My chief aim has been to make the work interesting, and, as reflecting my father's opinions, useful to his own religious community; but I have not forgotten that his name and reputation extended beyond it.

With the original view of avoiding delay, the first volume is now published separately, not without hope that it may elicit suggestions which may make the second more worthy of its subject and of the public favor. Until that volume shall appear, I postpone the expression of my warm gratitude for the prompt and hearty aid received from so many quarters.

*Manchester, May 5th, 1859.*





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# THE LIFE OF JABEZ BUNTING, D.D.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PARENTAGE AND KINDRED.

Of humble Origin.—The Peak of Derbyshire.—Birth of his Parents.—Introduction of Methodism into Derbyshire.—John Bennet.—The first Sermon at Chelmorton.—The Marsdens.—The Lomases.—Grace Murray.—John Nelson.—William Grimshaw.—William Darney.—Conversion of Mary Redfern.—Joseph Redfern.—William Bunting.—Mary Bunting's last Days.—Jabez Bunting's Sisters.—Filial Piety.—Letters to and from his Mother.

OF my father's ancestors, so far back as I can trace them, the heralds can tell me nothing. I read in quiet church-yards, in the Peak of Derbyshire, the simple story that they were born and died. In that secluded district, a land of moor and mist, they tilled the soil, or wrought painfully beneath the ground for the sustenance denied them by its sterile surface.

In 1745 the young Pretender marched across the county, expecting, on his route to the metropolis, to receive the homage of the aristocracy of England. But the rusties who stared at the strange sight of an invading army were soon freed from fear. Within a week they watched its wild retreat, and the failure of the last attempt to force the fortunes of the house of Stuart.

During the year just named, my grandfather, WILLIAM BUNTING, was born at Monyash, a small village of gray stone, which, with its old church set in lime-trees, lies sleepily in a hollow near the road by which the traveler passes from Buxton to Newhaven. My grandmother, MARY REDFERN, was then a child five years old, at Upper Haddon, some three miles distant.



It was very soon after her birth that the first Methodist preachers began their mission in the Peak. Wesley had sent them, not so much to the masses, already partially supplied with Christian ordinances, as to those "who needed them most;" and on many a broad parish, and into many a dark hamlet throughout the land, the doctrine of a personal, happy, and active religion flashed as with the brightness of a new revelation from heaven. In this "age of great cities," let not the claims of the few and destitute be forgotten—of the plain, impressible country-folk, who still form the strength and staple of the English people. Such was one of the latest counsels bequeathed by JABEZ BUNTING to his successors in the work of Methodism.

DAVID TAYLOR, Lady Huntingdon's butler, whom she had sent to itinerate through Leicestershire, extended his labors into the adjoining counties. During a considerable period he preached in Sheffield; and, while there, JOHN BENNET, of Chinley, in Derbyshire, a young man of good education, but of unsettled habits, who had come to enter a horse for the races, went, with a friend, to hear what the preacher might say. The sermon did not produce any impression on him; but he followed his companion into the vestry; for mere courtesy's sake, asked Taylor to come and see his parents; and was not a little annoyed when the invitation was eagerly accepted. He did not wish to be teased about religion; and he knew that Dr. Clegg, the minister of the family, though a Dissenter, disliked all irregular movements. So he did all he could to get rid of the engagement. But the Methodist preacher was not to be thwarted; and, after a ludicrous game of hide-and-seek, succeeded in paying his unwelcome visit. Within a short time Bennet was a zealous apostle of Methodism. In 1743 he became formally connected with Wesley. "Many doors," he writes, in 1750, "are open for preaching in these parts, but can not be supplied for want of preachers. My circuit is one hundred and fifty miles in two weeks, during which time I preach thirty-four times, besides meeting the societies and visiting the sick." Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire were the principal scenes of these arduous labors.

One sermon by John Bennet wrought great wonders. Soon after he became a preacher, Thomas Bennett, an inhabitant of



Chelmorton, two miles from Monyash, spoke of him to some young men of his acquaintance. "When I was a young man," said he, "the 'Puritans' came and preached at Townend" (the principal house of the village), "and the people were much affected by them. There is a man called John Bennet who preaches much in the same way, and the people are affected under him in the same manner; and, if you will get your father's barn, I will invite him over." John Bennet came and preached accordingly; and the father and his four sons, together with a man named Lomas, received the truth. All were steady and active Methodists to their lives' end. John Marsden, the eldest of the brothers, became a friend and an adviser of Wesley, and settled in London principally that he might be near him. "If there be a Methodist in England," said Wesley, "it is John Marsden, of London." Men on 'Change marked his sober air; and a caricature of the leading cotton-dealers in the metropolis portrays him as bending his knees in prayer. The late John Thornton, of Clapham—Richard Cecil tells the story—wishing that a man so steady should extend his business, offered to lend him ten thousand pounds on his personal security; but he declined to accept the kindness, because he feared that new cares might ruffle the stillness of his spirit. "There is nothing," he said on his death-bed, "betwixt me and the kingdom of heaven." Among the descendants of him and of his three brothers I trace five clergymen of the Established Church, one of them a professor in an English University, and holding high Cathedral preferment, and another the able historian of the Puritans, not yet placed in the position his talents deserve; the late George Marsden, for sixty-five years a Methodist preacher, and twice president of the Conference; John Marsden, who died at Manchester, full of years and of good works; and the respective wives of the venerable Richard Reece, for sixty-three years a preacher, and twice president; of that meritorious student and author, Dr. James Townley, also president; and of Richard Bealey, of Radcliffe, in Lancashire. Jewels not less precious are to be found in the casket of the Lomas family. To omit all reference to those who, having "used the office of a deacon well," have "purchased to themselves a good degree," the grandson of him of that name who was converted under the first Methodist sermon at Chel-

morton was Robert Lomas, a minister remarkable for his sound judgment, piety, and zeal. His distinguished son,\* still living, is the fourth president I have occasion to mention in this connection.

John Bennet either adopted what are called Calvinistic tenets, or found out that he already held them; separated himself from Wesley and his societies, and became the minister of an Independent church in Cheshire. And here the tale of his useful life might end but for one memorable event. Grace Murray, a widow residing at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, young, beautiful, and well-educated, was one of Wesley's own converts. He appointed her to be the matron of the Orphan House in that town. Subsequently, at his request, she proceeded through the northern counties to meet and regulate the classes of female Methodists. Like other itinerants of those days, she traveled on horseback. An old man once told how he saw her take her leave at a house-door in Yorkshire. Her horse stood waiting. She came out. A glance of her eye quickly told her all was right. No man might touch, even to help her, for she was on God's errand; so she laid her hand upon the conscious beast, and it knelt to receive her. She sprang lightly into the saddle, waved her arm, and, as in a moment, was out of sight, and the old man saw her no more except in dreams.

I do not know whether Wesley ever saw her set out on a journey, but none will venerate his memory the less that he would fain have married her. Charles Wesley, however, and George Whitefield were opposed to his marrying at all. John Bennet had once been sick of a fever, and she had waited upon him; and, "from that period," he thought that "she was given to him for a wife." Now he came, not unwillingly, to the rescue, and, without any communication with Wesley, realized his impression. Wesley poured out the sorrows of his heart in a long strain of passionate verse. Nearly thirty years after her husband's death, Wesley, who, it is said, had never mentioned her since the marriage, went, at her own request, to see her. He never named her again. She died at Chapel-en-le-Frith,

\* "*Quem ego cum ex admiratione diligere capissem, quod evenire contra solet, magis admiratus sum postquam penitus inspexi.*"—PLINY, lib. iv., epist. xvii. A friend supplies me with this apt quotation in allusion to my old tutor.

Derbyshire, in 1803, and my father preached her funeral sermon on Psalm xxvii., 13, 14.

"The day before she died"—I quote from a manuscript which he read after his sermon—"she raised herself into a very solemn attitude, and, with most striking emphasis, delivered, in the following language, her dying testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus: 'I here declare it before you that I have looked on the right hand and on the left—I have cast my eyes before and behind—to see if there was any possible way of salvation but by the Son of God, and I am fully satisfied there is not. No; none on earth, nor all the angels in heaven, could have wrought out salvation for such a sinner. None but God himself, taking our nature upon Him, and doing all that the Holy Law required, could have procured pardon for me, a sinner. He has wrought out salvation for me, and I know that I shall enjoy it forever.'"

The annals of early Methodism in Derbyshire suggest the mention of another remarkable name. JOHN NELSON, stonemason and preacher of the Gospel, whose published journal will be read with pleasure by all lovers of the English tongue, as it was written by Bunyan and by Defoe, was one of the first itinerants in the county. "I went into the Peak, to preach at Monyash," he writes in his journal (edition 1852, p. 80, 81), "when a clergyman, with a great company of men that worked in the lead mines, all being in liquor, came in just as I began to give out the hymn. As soon as we began to sing, he began to halloo and shout, as if he were hunting with a pack of hounds, and so continued all the time we sang. When I began to pray, he attempted to overturn the chair that I stood on; but he could not, although he struck so violently with his foot that he broke one of the arms of the chair quite off. When I began to preach, he called on his companions to pull me down; but they replied, 'No, sir; the man says nothing but the truth; pray hold your peace, and let us hear what he has to say.' He then came to me himself, took me by the collar of my shirt, and pulled me down; then he tore down my coat-cuffs, and attempted to tear it down the back; then took me by the collar, and shook me. I said, 'Sir, you and I must shortly appear at the bar of God to give an account of this night's work.' He replied, 'What! must you and I appear before God's bar

together?" I said, 'As sure as we look one another in the face now.' He let go my throat, took my Bible out of my hand, and, turning it over and over, said, 'It is a right Bible; and, if you preach by the Spirit of God, let me hear you preach from this text;' which was, 'Wisdom strengtheneth the wise more than ten mighty men in the city.' I got up, and began to preach from this text; and, when any offered to make a noise, the miners said, 'Hold your peace, or we will make you; and let us hear what he will make of the parson's text.' As I went on, the parson said, 'That is right; that is true.' After a while he looked round, and saw many in tears; then he looked at me, and went away, leaving me to finish my discourse in peace. All the rest of the circuit I had peaceable meetings, and the Lord kept still adding to the number of His children."

WILLIAM GRIMSHAW, too, Vicar of Haworth, was an early evangelist in Derbyshire. Charlotte Brontë's Biography has, in our time, made his dwelling a place of fashionable pilgrimage. But, for nearly a century, men gray and grave have taken their sons and their sons' sons to see the lone stone village on the Yorkshire Moors where dwelt one of the bravest and most humble spirits that ever graced the English Church; where the terrible but tender preacher, in the rough, plain language which a scholar only knows how to use, warned his parishioners to "flee from the wrath to come," or sat with them, at the feet of the Wesleys, Whitefield, Romaine, and Venn, as they stood "on the broad platform," beneath the shadow of the church; and whence "he was followed to the grave by an immense multitude of souls, with the most affectionate sighs and tears."\*

Nor must I omit all reference to the name of WILLIAM DARNLEY, probably the first Scotchman who became a Methodist itinerant preacher; the fires of whose youth, rekindled at the altar of the great revival, burned with a bright and steady flame during a long period of extensive labor. Yet he had his weaknesses, most of which he exhausted upon a volume of execrable doggerel, now fortunately very scarce. I can not find a better verse in it than the eightieth of one hundred and four, in the first composition in the book; and, certainly, it appropriately concludes these notices:

\* Would that some Birks, Hamilton, or Arthur would collect, arrange, and publish the materials still available for the Biography of this intrepid churchman and Methodist!



“ Now many places here and there  
Do long to hear the sound,  
And multitudes in Derbyshire  
Have the Redeemer found.”

Mary Redfern, my father's mother, was the first Methodist of her family. She was awakened (once for all, I crave leave to use my own Methodist mother-tongue) rather by the sight than by the hearing of a strange man, who stood in the village street at Monyash, and earnestly exhorted sinners to repentance. Her lot in early youth had been hard, and she had done her duty well; for her mother was hopelessly infirm, and she, the eldest sister, had been the nurse and guardian of eight younger children. Yet she contrasted the manifest sincerity of the man she watched with her own conscious want of a worthy aim in life, and was first startled, and then subdued by the reflection. Street-preaching has now become common. Who knows what good—or evil—may be done by the manner, air, and obvious aim of the preacher?

But Mary Redfern's conversion was to be connected still more closely with the missionary spirit of Methodism. And with what a mission!

“Q. 13. We have a pressing call,” say the Minutes of the Conference for 1769, “from our brethren at NEW YORK, who have built a preaching-house, to come over and help them. Who is willing to go?”

“A. RICHARD BOARDMAN and Joseph Pilmoor.

“Q. 14. What can we do farther in token of our brotherly love?

“A. Let us now make a collection among ourselves.

“This was immediately done; and out of it fifty pounds were allotted toward the payment of their debt, and about twenty pounds given to our brethren for their passage.”

One afternoon, soon after this Conference, Richard Boardman, with some portion of the twenty pounds in his pocket, traveled, on horseback, through the Peak of Derbyshire, on the road from his previous circuit in the Dales of Yorkshire and of Durham, by way of Bristol, to New York. When he reached Monyash, he asked whether there were any Methodists in the place, and was directed to a cottager, who gladly received him for the night. Of course he preached. Who can wonder that,

as he pursued his solitary journey, the heart of the missionary to America, saddened by the recent loss of his wife, dwelt devoutly on words like these: "AND JABEZ WAS MORE HONORABLE THAN HIS BRETHREN; AND HIS MOTHER CALLED HIS NAME JABEZ, SAYING, BECAUSE I BARE HIM WITH SORROW. AND JABEZ CALLED ON THE GOD OF ISRAEL, SAYING, OH THAT THOU Wouldest BLESS ME INDEED, AND ENLARGE MY COAST, AND THAT THINE HAND MIGHT BE WITH ME, AND THAT THOU Wouldest KEEP ME FROM EVIL, THAT IT MAY NOT GRIEVE ME! AND GOD GRANTED HIM THAT WHICH HE REQUESTED." (1 Chron., iv., 9, 10.)

This was his text when he preached that evening; "and God granted him," even then, in fit measure, "that which he requested." From that sermon Mary Redfern "learned the way of God more perfectly;" and she soon afterward found "peace with God." The "sorrowful" name in the text thus became associated in her mind with her highest "joy and gladness;" and, ten years afterward, she gave it to her first and only son, a solemn record of her pious gratitude, and a presage, not then understood, of his future character and history.

She became at once a very firm and lively Methodist. Her first class-leader was Thomas Lomas, whose father heard John Bennet preach at Chelmorton. At home, where she was the real mistress, she stood stanchly by her new profession. She threw the playing cards of her gay brother George into the fire in the sight of him and of his companions. Afterward she tended him, as he died slowly of consumption, and put into his lips the words of penitence and prayer. Her father, taught, or left untaught by the clergyman whom Nelson routed, became her bitter persecutor. But she maintained a steadfast course. And the hearts of those who had listened to the preaching of the stone-mason melted within them when that same clergyman, returning from duty one dark Sabbath night, and, as was whispered through all the country side, blindly drunk, was thrown by his horse down a fearful *Tor* into Lark-Hill Dale, and if, roused by mortal agony, he cried for help, was heard by none but the merciful God in heaven.

While the persecution lasted, however, Mary Redfern was greatly harassed. Once she left her home, and walked the thirty miles to Manchester; but conscience soon sent her back



again to work; and it was not until after her mother's death that she went permanently to reside in that place. There she entered into service, first, with Mr. Brocklehurst, a plain Methodist from Chelmsorton, who had risen to great affluence, at whose house she often waited upon Mr. Wesley; and afterward with Lancelot Harrison, and probably with other preachers, at their rooms connected with the preaching-house in Birchin Lane. Her father also removed to Manchester, and for some time she again took charge of his family.

Her brother, Joseph Redfern, too, followed her. He had always been as a child to her. She took him to church and chapel, and talked tenderly to him about his soul, and he became an eminently holy and useful man. He repaid in full his sister's kindness by fond attentions in after years to his young nephew. He died well; and God's blessing was upon his descendants, two of whom honorably sustain the pastoral office in the Established Church. Two of his children emigrated to Canada, and became zealous Methodists there; and it is through the marriage of one of these with an excellent missionary, the late Rev. Richard Pope, that my father traced a distant connection with the family of that name in the West of England, which has made so rich a contribution to the ranks of the rising Methodist ministry.

In 1778, Mary Redfern, after a long courtship, was married to William Bunting, then settled as a tailor in Manchester. The notices preserved of him are scanty. In person he was tall and thin, pale-faced, and very bald. He is described by some as a man of great shrewdness, by others as not of strong intellect. He, too—it is not known by what means—had become firmly attached to the new sect. It is said that he warmly espoused the cause of the first French Revolutionists; but this sympathy was shared by many tailors and by some philosophers. There is no doubt that he was, even in those days, a thorough Radical. But he kept his politics to himself, and was known to the world around him only as a quiet and a godly man, who worked hard for his family, with but little profit. He had been born a twin, and had suffered much during his apprenticeship; and the gossips said it was therefore that in his fifty-first year he began to droop. I collect some information as to this period from a letter addressed to his eldest daughter

by her brother, then a youth of eighteen. Edmund Burke wailed bitterly at his son's grave-side that he was paying those sacred offices of affection which himself ought to have received from the departed. I think of my grandfather's happier lot when I read this letter, breathing rather a mother's care for a sick child than a boy's rough kindness for his father. It illustrates, also, the writer's characteristic attention to the smallest details of whatever business he took in hand. I subjoin extracts only.

“Manchester, July 1st, 1797.

“MY DEAR SISTER,—This letter will be conveyed to you by our dear and highly-valued father, who intends to set out for Macclesfield to-night in” (illegible) “coach. My uncle would doubtless inform you that I wrote to him on Thursday evening, to acquaint him and you that the journey to Runcorn, which was first thought of, was given up by the advice of Dr. Percival, and an excursion to Macclesfield determined upon in its stead. The reasons which induced Dr. Percival to prefer Macclesfield to Runcorn my father will explain to you. The principal of them were that, since, if my father had gone to Runcorn, my mother must necessarily have accompanied him, the absence of them both would have produced very great and unnecessary inconvenience at home; that my father's mind would have been on that account so uneasy and dissatisfied as perhaps to prevent any good effects from the journey; and that at Macclesfield he would have the advantage of your nursing and attention, and be among those with whom he could be free, and of whose kindness he could avail himself to procure for him any little thing he might want, without any anxiety or fatigue to himself.

“You will perceive how weak and low my father is now reduced. Dr. Percival, however, tells me that, by the assistance of good air, which he will enjoy at Macclesfield vastly better than at Manchester, together with nourishing diet, and some strengthening medicines which he has prescribed, there is much probability that his health will be, in time, considerably restored. This plan, however, will require constant care and diligence. When you consider the unspeakable value of my father's life to our family in the present circumstances, I am sure you will do all that lies in your power to preserve it; and that

you will spare no pains in procuring him such accommodations as will make him comfortable, and in persuading him to use all means that are likely to be of service to him.

"My uncle's rooms" . . . . (illegible) "close and confined for my father in his present state. We must, therefore, earnestly request you to make inquiry without delay for a bed in a more airy situation. The neighborhood of Mr. Simpson's church would answer excellently well, if you could procure a proper and comfortable place. Perhaps John Beresford could let you have a bed; but, as my father is uncommonly weak and low when he rises in the morning, I fear he would not, at first, be able to walk back again to my uncle's. If you could meet with accommodations any where very near the town, as, for instance, just on the road-side leading to Manchester, it would be by much the best. Perhaps, however, it will be advisable for him to breakfast at the house where he lodges. You might go to him about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, taking with you a little tea and sugar, and so make him his breakfast. He might then walk to my uncle's, about ten or eleven o'clock, with tolerable ease. But of these things you will judge according to circumstances; only I look upon it as essential that an airy situation should be somewhere fixed upon as soon as possible; on Monday at the farthest. Pray do not neglect this.

"Dr. Percival wishes my father to have new milk, warm, if possible, from the cow, every morning and night. This will easily be accomplished, if the family where you procure a bed for him keep cows. At any rate, you may, one way or other, contrive to get it. He may drink it, in the morning, half an hour before his breakfast, and in the evening at any time most convenient. Pray press it upon him with earnestness and constancy.

"My father's food should be light and easy of digestion, and, above all, as nourishing as possible . . . . A little wine would be useful. You must endeavor to persuade him to send for such little things as he may want, and to strive to take food and other nourishment as he can.

"With respect to walking out, you must get him into the air as much as you can without fatiguing him. Perhaps little and short walks, frequently repeated, would be most serviceable. Caution him against taking cold.

"I have now to state our very earnest and particular request that you will be peculiarly attentive to administer to him his medicines with regularity and perseverance . . . .

"You must without fail write to us every other day at least, to let us know how my father goes on. Write by the London coach to-morrow evening two or three lines, to inform us how he bore his journey. We shall then expect a farther account of him by John Beresford on Tuesday, and by Barnett on Thursday and Saturday. You must not disappoint us in this respect. If any material change take place in the train of his symptoms that requires farther advice, let me know as soon as you can.

"I ought to have before said that I will send the prescriptions for the various medicines, that you may get them renewed when done. They must not be omitted on any account; and, as my father will perhaps be averse to have them renewed, you must affectionately persuade him to it.

"I have now discharged the melancholy duty of giving you such advice and directions as seemed necessary respecting our dear and honored parent. To the kind and righteous Providence of God, and to your affectionate care, we now commit him; not without much anxiety, but with fond and eager hope that the means he is now about to use will be blessed by God, and that, in a short time, he will return to us with amended and improving health. In that case, let us receive him as restored to us by the merciful dispensation of God, and be thankful to the Parent of mercies for so invaluable a gift. Above all, pray much for him, for me, for yourself, and for us all, that, however tried, or afflicted, or separated here, we may all meet at last, to part no more forever.

"Believe me, dear Alice, with unalterable and cordial attachment and love, your friend and brother,

"JABEZ BUNTING.

"P.S.—Pray read this letter to my uncle."

My grandfather died within three months after this letter was written. It is said that "his spirit had become remarkably detached from this world." A short time before his death, he sent for some young men to sing and pray with him. He sang with them the stanzas—"The dying Christian to his Soul"



—which Alexander Pope little thought would feed the faith of many a dying Methodist. Then he lifted his arms up out of the bed, and, with what voice was left to him, exclaimed, “Glory be to God! Glory be to God! This is thirty years’ Methodism! Escaped hell and won heaven! What a wonder!” His children, “even to the third generation,” bless his memory.

His widow survived him about sixteen years. He left behind him his humble furniture and some cottages, which were sold for less than two hundred pounds. My grandmother carried on the business with the assistance of a foreman, but he played her false, and she soon gave it up. Then, with the help of her children, she struggled on as she could. She became the victim of chronic rheumatism. Six weeks before her death she went to bed for the last time, and there lay, conversing and singing about Christ and heaven until her end. During the last night of her life she thought she saw (perhaps she did see) George Slater and Peter Jackson, pious friends long departed, at the foot of her bed, and talked to them as if manifestly present. She solemnly committed her family, and especially her little grandson, into the hands of God. So she died, with her Bible and Wesley’s Hymn-book under her pillow, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1813.

She was a woman of excellent judgment, quick perception, firm will, and very active habits; and, if somewhat haughty, was yet of a generous and tender spirit. Grace subdued her pride, and sanctified her various faculties to the service of God in her own vocation. Some still live who remember her as “a widow indeed;” respected, because unpretending; and punctual in her attendance at Oldham Street Chapel; a tall old woman, in a long black cloak, and with a bonnet of the inverted coal-scuttle shape, a peculiarity for which the Methodists were indebted either to the Society of Friends or to the Moravians. She left two daughters, Alice and Eleanor. The latter died unmarried. The former became the wife of the late Rev. Thomas Fletcher, who survived her, and died a few weeks before my father. His great modesty, and the comparative weakness of his voice, prevented his taking that place in the Methodist connection to which his good sense and learning justly entitled him. But in hard circuits he fulfilled an honorable

course. To the last he read, every morning, a chapter in the Hebrew Bible. His only child, the Rev. John Fletcher, also a faithful Methodist minister, has furnished me with many of the statements which are woven into the preceding narrative.

Many proofs still exist of my father's reverential love for his mother. Before his marriage he regularly gave her one half of his income, which, board and lodging being provided for him wherever he chanced to reside, never amounted to twenty pounds a year. In his poorest and most pinching days afterward, if, indeed, they can be distinguished from the rest, he took upon him the sole charge of eking out her scanty resources, so as to provide her with comforts at least equal to his own. The charge of the unmarried sister also was a heavy load, but cheerfully borne.

His letters to his mother are long, written with more than usual care, that her old eyes might read them easily, and brimful, not so much of sentiment as of news which would interest her, about Methodism, public events, and the precious details of domestic life. I give a specimen of those written before his marriage, and a few sentences from another sent to her after he had become a father; and I add one of her letters to him and to his young wife. The critics will not blame me for introducing into this chapter some references to a later period.

“ London, Monday, Aug. 29th, 1803.

“ MY DEAREST MOTHER,—I got into the *Telegraph* at Macclesfield last Wednesday evening a little before nine o'clock, and, by the good hand of God upon me for good, had a safe, and, upon the whole, a pleasant journey to London, where I arrived before ten o'clock on the Thursday night. I was met at the inn where the coach stops by Mr. Jerram, the general steward, who conducted me to his house in Wood Street, Cheapside, where I am to reside for a few days, till some repairs and improvements are completed in the house at City Road. For the same reason, Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, as well as Mrs. Taylor's mother, who lives with them, are obliged at present to take up their abode in the house of a friend.

“ Our situation at the City Road Chapel is exceedingly pleasant, open, and airy, and, perhaps, more likely to be favorable to health than most that could be found in or about London. I

am particularly pleased with my own apartments. Besides an excellent lodging-room, there is an adjoining study, very pleasant and retired, and well furnished with proper cupboards for the reception of books. In these respects I never was so conveniently and comfortably circumstanced before.

"I have not seen enough of the circuit to form any proper judgment concerning it. From the little I have seen, I think I shall be happy in it. My fellow-laborers are all very kind and friendly; and as to the London Methodists, if those with whom I have already become acquainted are a specimen of the rest, I shall be quite charmed with their spirit and manners when I am grown more familiar with them, and when the pangs of separation from my beloved friends and connections in your part of the world have begun to abate. At present, my feelings are unavoidably those of 'a stranger in a strange land.' But I hope in time to acquire greater fortitude, and with more ease to reconcile my affections to my duty. In the mean time, I endeavor to console myself with the prospect of that better world, where those divided in time shall be united for eternity.....

"I shall be impatient to receive a letter from you. As you will receive this on Wednesday morning, can not you send one by Mr. Goodall the same day, under cover to Mr. Allen at Macclesfield, who will get it forwarded to me immediately?

"I saw James Ridings and Mr. Browne yesterday, after preaching at Queen Street Chapel. They both welcomed me to London with great affection, and desired that, when I wrote to Manchester, I would present their kindest remembrances to you, and to my sisters and Uncle Joseph.

"The people here are far less alarmed about the threatened invasion than they are in the country. I meet with nobody who is under any very serious alarm. However, they think it best to be prepared for every possible case, and therefore are volunteering their services to government on all sides. Great numbers of friends have joined the different corps that are formed.

"This letter will be conveyed to Manchester by Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Mouncey, whom I was surprised to find in the vestry last night when I had done preaching. I shall write again soon. At present I know not what I can add but that I am, through mercy, in perfect health, and that I remain, with

unalterable affection to you, and with the tenderest love to my dear sisters, uncles, etc., your ever dutiful son, J. BUNTING.

"P.S.—Best respects to Mr. Yates, Mr. Albiston, and all that inquire."

"Sheffield, Sept. 29th, 1807.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,—We were very much obliged to Alice for her letter of the 15th instant, and glad to hear that you were all in tolerable health, and that your recent indisposition, in particular, was in a great measure removed. ....

"William,\* we trust, is doing well. We have got a place for him and Sarah, the elder servant, at Crooks, a village a mile and a half from us, which is said to have the best air in all this neighborhood. He was much better while there, and is only come home for a day or two, during the bustle of quarter-day, at which Sarah's assistance was wanted. The rain prevented his return this afternoon, but we purpose sending him again in the morning. He is in high spirits, and, were it not for an occasional fit of coughing (which, however, is not frequent nor violent), and for his being grown thinner than usual, we should not know that he ailed any thing. We have little doubt that, by the blessing of God, he will get rid of his hooping-cough before the winter sets in with severity; and I hope you will see him in January a fine, stout lad, as heretofore. He has cut his eye-teeth. I forgot to tell you that poor Sherry† cut three teeth the week she died. ....

"We have the prospect of being very comfortable here. The circuit is agreeable; and we are from home only two nights at most in eight weeks. But the best of all is, we have reason to think the Lord is and will be with us. We are exceedingly happy in my colleagues; and in Mr. and Mrs. Newton, especially, we have two most agreeable and friendly neighbors. Write very soon. Why not on Friday, in which case Mr. Owen, the bearer of this, would bring me your answer on Saturday? We unite in love to you and my dear sisters. J. BUNTING.

"P.S.—William has been plaguing me to give him a pen; so I will guide his hand, and he shall write to you.

"William Maclardie Bunting's love to grandmother and aunts."

\* His eldest son.

† The pet name of a baby he had lost.



[Without date ; but written about 1804.]

“MY DEAR JABEZ AND SARAH,—My neglect of writing is not because I forgot you—no ; but, knowing the great fatigue, both of body and mind, which for a long time you must have had, I thought it no matter to add to your exercise, as I had then nothing of importance, and as you heard by one or another that we were still in the land of the living. I thank you for your kind remembrance of me, so often as you do. I could indeed wish that my house was nearer ; but you know it is my happiness to be resigned to what kind Providence has denied. I wish I was more thankful to God that He has placed you among the princes of His people, and my prayer to God is that you may be found faithful.

“I heard by several of the preachers that you was poorly, and was very uneasy. I had rather always know the truth at first.

“I did but see Mr. Lomas this morning, so I can not now say all I wish to say. I am myself, through merey, as well as I can expect. Your sister Alice has been poorly most of the summer, and Eleanor, of late, has not been very well.” . . . . .

After my father's death, I found, in a private drawer of an old bureau, some papers which he had marked as “very particular.” Among them were his father's last ticket, and the letter announcing his mother's death. One of the latest walks he took was to see the spot where, in the very centre of the busy life of Manchester, the two lie quietly and lovingly together, behind the chancel of St. James's Church.

## CHAPTER II.

## INFANCY—CHILDHOOD—SCHOOL-DAYS.

Birth.—Wesley's Blessing.—Fragments of Autobiography.—Schoolmasters.—Marchant. — Clarke. — Hartley. — Broadhurst. — Pope. — Course of Study.—Compositions in Prose and Verse.—Interest in Public Affairs.—Appearance.—Schoolboy Frolics.—Early religious Habits.—Dr. Cornelius Bayley. — Preachings in his Father's Garret. — Persecutions and Successes at School.

JABEZ BUNTING was born at the house of his father, in Newton Lane, Manchester, on the evening of Ascension Day, May 13th, 1799, and was baptized at the collegiate and parish (now the Cathedral) church of that city on the 18th of July following.

The only record which has been preserved of his infancy is that, when he was very young, his mother presented him to Wesley in Oldham Street Chapel, and that the old apostle (who would remember her as having waited upon him, not long before, at Mr. Brocklehurst's house) devoutly blessed him. There was nothing unusual in this circumstance, for little children were commonly taken to Wesley as he traveled through the land. But the blessing was a rich one. The child himself cherished it; and, in later years, often told how he used to hear Wesley preach, frequently on Easter Sundays, and at six o'clock on the following mornings; and, these early services ended, to watch his departure, in his carriage, on the accustomed round of labor. He saw him so depart, for the last time, in 1790.

The first notices of his education are to be found in "Jabez Bunting's account-book, bought June 25th, 1787." This is a manuscript in his own handwriting, even then remarkably good, containing statements and examples of the principal rules of arithmetic, the last being Practice. The sentences are carefully punctuated.

About eighteen months afterward, farther particulars are gathered from a little book, also written by himself.

“J. B. left Mr. Marchant’s school January the 8th, 1789, in the ninth year of my age, who always acquitted his trust toward me in a manner worthy of esteem. The 19th, went to Mr. Clarke’s. Begun the year with the same branches as before, viz., Arithmetic, English Grammar, and reading the English Speaker. The first rule with Mr. Clarke was Reduction.”

The same book contains the following entries:

“At the end of this quarter” (that ending in March, 1789) “I am in Practice. I think I am” [“*somewhat*” struck out, and written over it] “*a little* improved in the various branches of learning mentioned p. 1, especially in Accounts.”

“At the end of this quarter” (that ending in June, 1789) “I was in Exchange with America and the West Indies.”

“*Commentaria.*

“Jabez Bunting.

“Wednesday, January 8th, 1792.

“I again begin a memorandum-book, which I have so long discontinued. Mr. Clarke having left Manchester about Michaelmas, 1789, I went to Mr. Hartley, of Princess Street, with whom I continued till near Christmas, 1791, when, he likewise leaving the town, I was again obliged to change my school. However, on the day above-mentioned I made a beginning with the Rev. Mr. T. Broadhurst. It may be here necessary to premise that I have gone through Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, and Conic Sections; likewise have done something at Latin, having gone over the Accidence, construed about eight chapters of the Latin Testament, and corrected some exercises of bad Latin, extracted from Clarke’s Exercises.

“Mr. Broadhurst professes to teach nothing but Mathematics, the Classics, Geography, etc., and he thinks it better that I should attend to Latin only, as I had not even learned the Syntax. The order of the day in general is as follows: Forenoon, repeat the tasks assigned over night, and show exercises from *Exempla Minora*; translation from Cornelius Nepos, or read back a translation into Latin, construe a portion of Cornelius Nepos, and parse. Afternoon, construe from Cornelius Nepos, and sometimes a task from the Eton Grammar. Hours of attendance, nine to twelve forenoon, and two to five afternoon. I suppose a writing and account master will be in the

school. Feb. 24th. This afternoon, after having gone again over the Accidence, I began the Syntax: two rules for my morning's repetition; four, because the rules are so short. Afterward the length of the repetition is left to Mr. Broadhurst's discretion.

"March.—We have now begun to learn Geography from Guthrie: generally two lessons per week. I also began to construe Julius Cæsar instead of Cornelius Nepos. In Latin I am improved much, and think our parsing one chief cause. I began French likewise, and use Perrin's Grammar. I get this Thursdays and Saturdays, and one night per week. Mr. Fell likewise began to come to teach us to write, from twelve o'clock till one."

Side by side with these fragments of autobiography his accounts are entered, with the same minute accuracy which he cultivated during all his lifetime. They show the purchase of a Greek Grammar and Fables toward the close of March, 1792. Here and there a text of Scripture and a verse of a hymn are introduced:

"Teach me Thy truth, O Lord, and guide me in the way everlasting."

"Make me Thy heavenly voice to hear,  
And let me love to pray,  
Since God will lend a gracious ear  
To what a child will say."

Before he was eleven years of age he had heard his own voice in public. "The following pieces," says a printed programme before me, "will be recited by the young gentlemen educated at the Commercial and Mathematical School, Manchester, in the assembly-room at the hotel, on Friday, 18th of December, 1789;" and there follows a list of pieces, comprising "The Choice of Hercules, in seventeen parts," in which "Bunting" is to figure; and "Philosophical Melancholy, by Thomson," which he is to recite. A similar programme, for the following year, names him as the principal performer in "The Praise of Philosophy, in eleven parts;" and in "Cato's Senate, in five parts;" after which he is to pronounce "Adherbal's Address to the Roman Senate."

In those days the schoolmaster must have found Manchester a very bare pasture; for at Christmas, 1792, Mr. Broadhurst, un-

der whose charge the preceding extracts leave the boy, like Clarke and Hartley, left the town. The following letter introduces my father's next and last preceptor:

*"Mr. Bunting, Church Street, Manchester.*

"SIR,—You have your son, a youth of promising parts, under the care of Mr. Broadhurst, who is going to quit his school next Christmas. As I expect to succeed him, you will do me a great favor in permitting me to have the same care of him as you have favored Mr. Broadhurst with; you may be assured of my best endeavors for your son's improvement, and the most affectionate attention which the relation in which I may be placed to him can justly claim.

"As Mr. Broadhurst knows me well, to him I refer you for any information you may want concerning me; and, with the request that you will acquaint me whether I may depend on your countenance and favor, I remain, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN POPE.

"New College, Hackney, near London, Oct. 19, 1792."

To Mr. Pope's school, accordingly, Jabez Bunting was sent. This gentleman was what was then called a Presbyterian minister, and supplied a chapel at Blackley. There can be no doubt, however, that his theological opinions were very different from those with which the term Presbyterian is historically associated. Broadhurst, also, was a minister of the same communion. How it came to pass that people so strict as were my grandparents intrusted the education of their child to men who, out of school, at least, were preachers of Arianism, I do not know. It is fair to surmise that, if competent instruction were to be had at all, the choice lay between the ancient grammar-school, at which, perhaps, seventy years ago, a Methodist boy might have met with little favor, and the best school kept by a Dissenter. And it is certain, as I shall have occasion to show, that the lapse from orthodoxy of many of the Presbyterians in England was at that time neither so great nor so well understood as it afterward became. But all turned out well for the pupil. Mr. Pope was an excellent scholar, and an apt, laborious, and affectionate teacher, and was strict both as to the quantity and quality of the work he required to be done.



My father enjoyed the benefit of his training for nearly three years. The Septuagint and the Greek Testament; the Greek and Latin classics; English, Greek, and Latin composition, both in prose and verse; the translation of French; the Psalter in Hebrew; the correct and emphatic reading and recitation of English; Geography, Astronomy, and the elements of Natural Philosophy, were all included in the *curriculum* through which he passed. The Bible was used as a schoolbook, but probably without much pains being taken to explain its meaning, or to draw from it any but the most general lessons of morality.

The young student was very diligent, and many compositions, still extant, attest his progress. Those in English prose have much of the accuracy, chasteness, and freedom which marked his mature style. His verses in the same language, when, under fear of the rod, he wandered out of prose, were tasteful and correct; but, though he eventually possessed a high oratorical genius, even a son can not detect in these, his enforced exercises, any genuine poetry. With some hesitation, and solely with the wish to please the curiosity of intimate friends, I place one of his metrical translations in the Appendix.\* An exceedingly ready penman, he was in the constant habit of extracting into books, and on scraps of paper, whatever, in the course of his general reading, struck him as worthy of preservation. The engagements of the school would not leave him much time for work of this kind; but he seems to have gained access to the magazines and newspapers of the day, and to have taken a lively interest in public affairs. His appearance about this time has been described to me by a venerable survivor.† He was above the height of most boys of his age; pale and delicate-looking; and, though possessing very shapely legs, of feeble and uncertain tread and walk. He shot up quickly, and stooped; and there were times when the garments of olive-colored velveteen, which should have clasped his dark-gray stockings at the knee, refused the meeting. He was very modest and courteous. Indeed, the boys with whom he mixed at school were much his superiors in worldly position; and this state of things, though it never made him servile, naturally fostered his humbler virtues. In the list of his schoolfellows are the names of Bayley,

\* Appendix A.

† Thomas Davenport, Esq., of Withington, near Manchester.

Smethurst, Harrison, Percival, Marsland, Touchett, Philips, and Robinson, then, and some of them still, borne by families of great consideration in Manchester. Mr. Pope's terms were six guineas a year, and were thought very high. It is remembered that, when not hard at work, the boy, Jabez Bunting, was fond of frolic; and those who knew him intimately in later life can readily believe it. Knocker-tying on a dark night was a favorite sport. The friend before alluded to has described some adventures of this kind, when unwelcome discovery led to the instant dispersion of the offenders, who afterward reassembled at the sound of a preconcerted signal. He tells, also, how my father indulged in tricks, such as schoolboys love to practice upon easy-going masters; how, not very quickly or often, he was found out; and how Pope, instead of flogging him, used to take him out of the door of the school and of the sight of the other boys, and, placing the cheeks of preceptor and of pupil in loving contact, beseech the lad not to tease him any more.\*

His parents took him regularly, every Sabbath, during one period, to St. Thomas's Church, on Ardwick Green, and during another to St. James's Church, in George Street. The Manchester Methodists of those days resorted chiefly to the church last named. Its minister was Dr. Cornelius Bayley—the same who made Wesley "sick of reading Hebrew without points;" whose Grammar of that language Adam Clarke, his fellow-usher at Kingswood, bought with the half guinea he dug up in the garden there, and who tried in vain to teach the sacred tongue to the juvenile De Quincey.† He worked kindly with the Methodists, and occasionally, when Wesley preached at Oldham Street Chapel, read prayers, and assisted him to administer the

\* Among my father's books was a copy of Baskerville's Sallust, with this inscription—"J. Pope. Mancun. 1793. Jany. 26th. Given to Master J. Bunting as a mark of respect for his scholarship."

† In Mr. De Quincey's fascinating narrative of his young days in Manchester, there are some lively passages, rather at Dr. Bayley's expense. But the latter was a scholar and a gentleman, and had an ear and a heart, as even his critic admits, sensitively tuned to poetry. The great master of composition seems sometimes to forget that the words which he moulds like wax will last like marble. The passages, however, to which I now refer are chiefly remarkable as raising a doubt whether the opium-eater ever heard of Charles Wesley's hymns, though he relates that one of John Wesley's nieces was his own sister's governess.

sacrament of the Supper—often to thirteen or fourteen hundred communicants at a time. The service at church was always preceded by one at seven o'clock in the chapel, and followed by another in the evening at the same place.

My father, by means of his attendance at church, became familiar, from his earliest childhood, with the Liturgy of the Established Church; and when, almost as soon as he could speak, he began to preach in a garret at home, he punctually donned one of his father's shirts over his own clothes, and read the service for the day. He did not play at preaching, for he was always serious and devout. Even then he could not tolerate a disorderly congregation; and if his sisters, who were his only hearers, laughed, or were visibly impatient, he always summarily turned them out, and finished his exercise by himself.

At one school to which he was sent his schoolmates found out that he was the son of a Methodist tailor, and vexed him sorely with the double taunt. His parents complained, and the master soothed them with the report of the boy's talents, and with the promise of his certain success. When success had been won, things took a different turn; and the mother was greatly pleased when the sons of persons in superior station knocked at her door, and for some purpose of pleasure or of advantage, inquired for "Master Jabez."

The name of Percival has been mentioned as that of one of his companions at the last school he attended. It was to his intimacy with Edward Percival, the son of the late Dr. Thomas Percival, that he owed his introduction to the father, and the many benefits which resulted from that gentleman's patronage. But there are earlier and more important matters to be related.

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## CHAPTER III.

### CONVERSION.

Baptism.—Early Training.—Joseph Benson.—Hesitation about joining Society.—Decision.—James Wood.—First Ticket of Membership.

It was during the year before that in which my father left school that his conversion took place. To the particulars of this event many in his own and in other churches will listen



willingly; and it is possible that some who seldom read religious biographies may ponder, not without advantage, what is now to be written. Every man deals in his own way with God, "the Father of the spirits of all flesh," and with the truths which concern the everlasting future. Here is the case of a man of sense and station, of extreme caution, and of sensitive truthfulness, who testified, by lip and life, for more than sixty years, that he had acquainted himself with God, and was at peace.

The grace sealed to him and to his parents at the old church in Manchester, when they presented him in holy baptism, rested blessedly upon them all. The parents kept their vow, and God graciously kept His covenant. They had, for the child, renounced "the devil and all his works; the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that" he would "not follow nor be led by them;" and they therefore separated their son, as they could, from worldly vanities; set the love and service of Christ before him as the real pleasure and purpose of life; and, taking his hand in theirs, walked steadily, and as of course, toward heaven. Probably he never had any other prevailing thought than to go with them. And, accordingly, "the angel which redeemed" them "from all evil" blessed "the lad;" their "name," "and the name of" their "fathers," was "named on" him; and, verily, he grew "into a multitude in the midst of the earth."

Yet the grace of the initiatory sacrament, though sure and present, was, in its very nature, but the pledge of a greater, and that a conditional blessing. "Before the child" *knew* "to refuse the evil and choose the good," grace itself could not effectually influence the choice. Before a will, conscious, intelligent, and free, possessed either scope or power, and the sense of accountability had created the obligation to account with God, grace had been expended in vain in the effort to make a babe into a saint—a puny creature, scarcely able to realize the simplest facts of being, into its best and holiest type on earth. I conclude, therefore, that, in any such meaning of a plain but much controverted term as the primary laws and conditions of spiritual religion warrant, my father was not regenerated in baptism.

His communications on the subject of his religious experience

were very few and brief. The prayer and hymn copied into his memorandum-book, and the sober preachings in his father's attic, are the only lights thrown upon "the sweet religiousness" of his childhood. We know nothing of his early conflicts with evil; of the instances in which he yielded, or of his partial and imperfect victories. But God be thanked that neither upon his good repute when young, nor upon a wakeful conscience when the last account drew near, did there ever rest the "damned spot" of profanity or of vice!

His parents prayed and waited; prayed with an earnestness and a faith none the less that he was "yet a child." Who could tell how soon the light might dawn which should reveal the claims, alike imperative, of God's holy law and of His blessed Gospel? Mothers, and some fathers too, know surely when the old, short stories, which touch with equal charm the infant and the savage, begin to tell; when lips which lie has never soiled relax and quiver with a new emotion; and fitful eyes, now gay, now serious, but fixed at last in steady wonder, drop tears of tender sadness into bosoms shaken by a tumult of gratitude, hope, and joy. There was a first time when Mary Bunting and her son Jabez thus communed and clave together; when she found the key of his young heart, fitted it—Oh, how gently!—in the ready wards, then tremblingly turned it round, and found the priceless treasure which years of toil and patience, none too many, had laid up there.

Her son had seen his twelfth birthday, and "the dew" and "the small rain" had thus distilled upon him; but the clouds of genuine repentance had not yet gathered, and there were no immediate tokens of the storm which was soon to shake, but to settle his spirit. But presently there came "a sound of abundance of rain." Soon after the period just named, Joseph Benson was stationed in the Manchester circuit, and my father, in usual course, attended his ministry. That great preacher, always clear, solemn, and convincing, and often heated into a vehement passion of power, received, at this time, one of those special dispensations of heavenly unction which the histories of holy ministers in all churches record. Wesley was just dead, and trouble came quickly on; and, while the strife of ecclesiastical politics waged fiercely round him, Benson saw, more clearly than most of his contemporaries, that the true and all-absorb-

ing subject of solicitude was not the frame-work and polity of Methodism, but its preservation as a great agency for converting the souls of men. There, then, he stood before his people, from Sabbath to Sabbath, a pale and slender man, of a presence melancholy and all but mean, with a voice feeble, and, as he raised it, shrill, and with a strange accent, caught in his native Cumberland; his body bending as beneath "the burden of the Lord;" his gesture uncouth, and sometimes grotesque; the general impression of the whole scarcely redeemed, at first sight, by the high, clear forehead, firm nose, and steady eye which his portraits have preserved to posterity. But the man was seen no more when, having announced his message, he proceeded to enforce it. Dr. Chalmers once said to my father concerning a plain Methodist preacher, whose memory still lingers pleasantly in the hearts of many brethren and children in the Lord, and who labored for some years in Glasgow, "I like your GEORGE THOMPSON; he goes about saving souls *in such a business-like manner.*" Benson, in higher degree, had this habitual purpose and faculty. He was a sound and learned expositor of Holy Scripture; and, in the opinion of those competent to judge, his Commentary still perpetuates his usefulness.\* Making the best use of this prime advantage, he then resorted to, applied, and exhausted all the legitimate arts and powers of the Christian pulpit. He explained, argued, and taught; but he also warned, remonstrated, entreated, and wept; until, often, throwing down the weapons his spent strength could wield no longer, he fell on his knees, and vented his full heart in reverent prayer, while vast congregations quailed or melted under the spell of this last appeal to a resistless energy, and, as with one voice, cried—but not aloud—for instant mercy.† I heard my father

\* I should be unfaithful to my father's opinions, frequently and strongly expressed, were I not to record the high estimation in which, without disparaging the labors of other devout and learned men within his own pale, he personally held Joseph Benson's Commentary, as combining, more largely than any other, and in better harmony, all the excellences of a sober and thoroughly Wesleyan exposition of the sacred volume.

† What a scene was that, early in 1795, when Benson, the strife at Bristol grown so fierce that his very position as a Methodist preacher was threatened, went into Cornwall, and, after a long succession of sermons, found himself so pressed, one day, by an eager crowd of out-door listeners, that he begged those already converted to stand far off, and those as yet unsaved to

preach more than once on the text which bids us always to be ready to give a reason for our hope "with meekness and fear," and he delivered the last sentences of the sermon with much solemnity of voice and manner. They vividly described the profound abasement and awe which rest sublimely upon professor and profane, when special influence accompanies the preaching of the Truth, and, "pricked in their heart," multitudes inquire, "Men and brethren, what must we do?"\* These

come within hearing! But all stood still, with feet planted more firmly than before, and with eyes "fastened on him," as though he had been the angel sent from heaven to put in his sickle and to reap the ripe harvest of the earth. "What!" he cried, "all unconverted?" In a moment the terrible conviction of sin, guilt, and danger ran like fire through the multitude, and conscience-stricken sinners fell by hundreds, as if slain by these two words, while round them thronged the godly, pouring into their wounds "oil and wine."

\* I am not sure that the MS. preparations for this sermon are in existence; but I have a printed report of it as preached in London in 1837. The sentences to which I refer, illustrated, as I well remember, by Acts, ii., 37-43, do not appear at any length. The preacher's thoughts seem, in this instance, to have been soon turned into another channel. I subjoin the passage:

"You must also give this reason with *fear*—not the fear of cowardice, against which the apostle was guarding. Do not be afraid of those officers of justice who are at the door, and intend, it may be, to haul you to prison. Do not be afraid of the lions to which you may be cast. It is not the fear of cowardice, but the fear of *reverence*, to which you are exhorted. In other words, 'Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts.' Cherish, habitually, reverential views of God. When you come to talk about your religion, then, indeed, have you a good reason for bringing this reverence into special exercise. Give an answer in meekness and in fear. Perhaps there is no one word in our language which so well includes all which, I think, is meant to be included in this term *fear*, as it is used, not only in this passage, but in others, as the word *serious*. Be ready to give an answer to every man that asks you; but do it with meekness and humility; do it with seriousness—seriousness of spirit, seriousness of manner, seriousness of expression. In talking about religion, especially experimental religion, cautiously avoid every thing ludicrous. What has this to do with religion? Laugh about politics and the affairs of this world with wisdom and in moderation, but never indulge in a spirit that belongs to the ludicrous in any thing that concerns the soul, and the vast relations of man to God and to eternity. Oh, it is pitiful to be sporting when men are talking about these momentous things! Religion and the hope of heaven may be joyous affairs to you, but there was One whom the whole business made serious enough. It is a very joyous thing to you to have the blessing of pardon and of peace with God, and a



sentiments reflected the scenes and impressions of his own awakening. Many were at that time "added to the Lord," who became the strength and the ornament of Methodism in Manchester. And Jabez Bunting called Joseph Benson his spiritual father.

He did not, however, at once join the society, or experience the comforting and renewing power of religion. I can well understand his difficulties. He was never forward to reveal the emotions and exercises of his inner man. The work of the Holy Spirit upon his heart was neither superficial nor, distinctively, sentimental. Once convinced that the time had come when he was solemnly required to accept or to refuse the mercy of the Gospel, he would regard it as a duty to ponder well what he would do, and he would set about doing it, as Richard Alleine weightily says, in "the most serious frame possible, suitable to a transaction of such high importance." This is not the place to discuss the pretensions of modern and systematic revivalism. It is clear, on the one hand, that agencies for promoting the conversion of men which are not expressly enjoined by the Word of God are less likely to succeed than those which rightfully claim that warrant. On the other, it is certain that He who "would have all men to be saved," in His divine pity for those who "are ignorant and out of the way," often fetches them home to His flock by messengers and means which an enlightened piety would scarcely dare to sanction. Is not the lesson this—that those modes of doing good which all admit to be legitimate should be plied with so much frequency, constancy, and zeal, as to render a recourse to all others needless? In the days of which I am speaking, the regular, authorized, and well-tried methods were employed; but even they, in their earliest action, produced, as they do now, very various results. Who does not recognize, in the circle of his most valued Christian friends, those who, in a hurry of surprise and sorrow, submitted themselves to God, and who have never broken fealty? Generally speaking, however, men of my father's cast of character must have more time and culture. Upon such a previous test is imposed. Men may come to Christ without going through the gate of His Church; but the Church is the best delightful consciousness of communion with Him, and the full expectation of one day being with Him, but remember that it cost your Savior His blood."

road to Him. And the test of union with the Church acts, not arbitrarily, but as of itself supplying a fair and simple mode of finding out whether we are in earnest for salvation. The Church is the home of the healthy, but the hospital for the sick. To go there is to confess our sickness, our faith in the treatment there observed, and our despair of other methods of healing; and thus the profession of religion becomes of the substance of religion itself. To this test my father did not immediately submit. There were, perhaps, difficulties in his way peculiar to the Church with which, if with any, he was to unite himself. Church-membership, in all ecclesiastical communities, is the recognized right to sit down at the table of the Lord. While all Churches, I believe, admit this proposition, each has its own mode of recognition. The Methodists require, as a general rule, that the candidate, or admitted member, shall join a "class"—a meeting held weekly, at which each who attends is expected to give a statement of religious experience, and (in which, perhaps, consists the chief virtue of the institute) to receive the counsels and encouragements of one of their number, not, indeed, known as a pastor, but charged to direct and guide as a "leader." From such disclosures as this discipline requires, I can easily believe that a mind like my father's would, in the first instance, and not unnaturally, recoil. Of course, I do not stay to vindicate a system which, tried for more than a century, has tended more to the purity and compactness of the Methodist people than any other peculiarity of their order.

A circumstance very trifling in itself brought him to decision. The Love-feast, a meeting where, also, under the direct presidency of the pastor, and under such control as he may think fit to exercise, religious experience is related, is another of the institutions of Methodism. At these meetings, which have survived many bitter libels, bread and water are partaken in common by the people present. The ticket of membership with the society, given to all who meet in class, or a special note from the minister, is the only passport for adult persons; but young children are often taken to enjoy the novelty or variety of the service, and, in the case of very little ones, the bread—always so made as to please simple palates.\* Accordingly,

\* Forty years ago, the "fragments that remained" used to be sent into the minister's house for the continuous delectation of his hungry children. I hope this very proper custom is not dying out.

Mary Bunting, never absent on such occasions, was wont to take her son with her, and the quarterly recurrence of them was an event to which he looked forward with interest. It seems that the regulation as to admittance had, during Benson's charge of the circuit, been frequently relaxed, and my father, getting well on in his teens, had never yet been asked for his ticket. But Alexander Mathér came as the superintendent. Him I must leave for the present, except to record that he was a strict disciplinarian. He was shocked to hear that big boys, who had not joined the society, were in the habit of attending at the Love-feast, and at once put a stop to the practice. The first occasion of the kind after his arrival saw Jabez Bunting shut out. His mother seized the opportunity. Perhaps even she was not aware of the effect produced upon him by Benson's preaching. "I do not know what you think of it, Jabez," she said, "but to me it seems an awful thing that, after having been carried there" (probably she thought of the time when she had carried him to the Chapel for Wesley's blessing), "you should now be excluded by your own fault." He once said in a meeting of the kind, "Many attribute their conversion to their having attended a Love-feast; I owe mine to having been shut out of one." Both the fact and his relation of it strikingly illustrate his religious experience and habits. His mother left him; but, again to use his own words, "the blow was struck in the right place." She, a happy Christian, "went up with the multitude that kept holiday;" he into his closet, to think and to pray. He is now in Paradise, praising God for the transactions of that hour. Not that then—and an Alleluia supplies me with another golden sentence—he "closed with God in Christ," but that then he set about that strenuous and struggling effort to find forgiveness, peace, and power, which the worst never made in vain. He, once for all, renounced sin; bound himself to God's service by holy purpose and resolution; asked His mercy and help; pleaded His promises; and, if with but feeble faith, felt and groped after the one everlasting truth of Christ, "the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world," which, embraced and realized as his very own, should make him a loving and rejoicing, and, so, a regenerate creature. Standing on his father's door-step one day soon afterward, he did embrace and realize it, as placed allur-

ingly within his reach by the revealing and persuading Spirit; he saw and knew that God, for Christ's sake, both could and would pardon and accept him; with every power and faculty of soul and spirit, he "ventured himself on Christ," and was consciously pardoned and accepted; or, as Methodists love to say, in phrase which the Bible has made ready to their hand, he "was set at liberty." Having "much forgiven," he "loved much." His heart was "enlarged, inflamed, and filled" with new and infinite affections. He was "turned about" "from sin to God." He had a new will, and a new command of it; his desires, courses, and pursuits, his entire life—"all things"—became "new." This was his conversion.

Infancy and childhood had, indeed, been full of gracious thoughts, and of earnest wishes to be religious; and the meditative boy had always intended, at some not distant period, to become so; but, until now, he had not solved the one great problem of the soul's probation. Thoughts, wishes, and intentions had not ripened into action, because he *could* "not serve the Lord God." Now they were "brought to good effect." "A sinful man"—one who had sinned, and, remaining as he had been, could not but sin—went "in peace;" of necessity, choice, or habit, to "sin no more." And these were not mere fancies, but facts in the history of his mind and heart, as demonstrable as those of his outer and corporeal life. Who, at all events, will say that this statement of them is not rational, credible, and consistent?

He and another youth, "dear to him as his own soul," began together to meet in class, and received their "Notes of Admission upon Trial" into the Methodist Society at the "Quarterly Visitation" made by the ministers of the circuit in September, 1794. Fifty-seven years afterward he followed that friend to the grave, and on the following Sabbath, in a few sentences at the end of a sermon, commemorated the virtues and the graces which no longer bloomed on earth. The late JAMES WOOD, of Manchester, a man of excellent sense, thorough integrity, affectionate temper, and gentlemanly and genial manners, stood justly high in the estimation of the world, and in the love and admiration of his fellow-Christians. He acquired a large fortune in trade by means singularly just and honorable; was the first President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and bore



the queen's commission for the county; and, as he rose to eminence, and after he had risen, was an able and faithful class-leader and lay-preacher. To his counsels and liberalities my father was frequently and largely indebted, both personally, and in reference to great plans of public usefulness. Joseph Redfern, before named as an uncle, was the leader of the class to which the two boys joined themselves. From his class-paper, I find that my father was very punctual in his attendance, but was too poor to keep the old Methodist rule. The penny a week was regularly paid; but, instead of a shilling, only sixpence a quarter.

Since 1765, the tickets of membership have always been printed in London, and circulated thence throughout the kingdom. Each bears on it some short text of Scripture. The first my father received was given him in December, 1794. I can imagine him taking it home, and showing it to his mother, but scarcely how she felt when she read it. It was a part of the well-remembered prayer of Jabez, once more sealed in promise upon her only son—"Oh that Thou wouldest bless me indeed, and that Thou wouldest keep me from evil!"

## CHAPTER IV.

### MEDICAL EDUCATION.

Dr. Percival's Birth.—Education.—Professional Career.—Public Life.—Works.—Political Opinions.—Religious Tenets.—Dr. Barnes.—Dr. Percival's Piety.—Letter as to the Sabbath-day.—Death.—Jabez Bunting's Connection with Dr. Percival.—Medical Education.—Manners.—Dr. Percival's Descendants.—Dr. Edward Percival.—His Children.

DR. THOMAS PERCIVAL, the grandson and nephew of physicians bearing the same surname, who both practiced at Warrington, was born in 1740. Deprived, when three years old, of both his parents, Elizabeth, his eldest sister, became "the mother of his understanding and manners." She adopted new views of religion, and, quitting the faith and worship of the Established Church, joined herself to a congregation of Arians. He was educated, first, at the free grammar school of his native town, and afterward at "The Warrington Academy;" an insti-

tution identified with the names of Dr. John Taylor, Priestley, Gilbert Wakefield, Aikin, Enfield, and other persons of kindred sentiments, which, after various suspensions or migrations, has now settled in "University Hall," attached to the University of London. Here he distinguished himself in moral and intellectual philosophy. He was indebted to the uncle before named for an increase of his fortune, an extensive library, and the bent of his choice to the medical profession. Sacrificing, from conscientious objections to subscription, his desire to enter an English University, he matriculated at Edinburgh about the year 1761. There he was admitted to frequent intercourse with Hume, of whose talents and manners he has recorded his admiration; and with Robertson, in the family of whose sister, Mrs. Symes, he resided during two winters. There, also, he contracted lasting friendships with Haygarth, Falconer, Aikin, and Pepys, all of whom achieved distinction in his own profession. Through these connections, he availed himself of the attractive but dangerous society of the Scottish metropolis. One year, too, was spent in London, where "an almost paternal and filial regard" was formed between him and the Lord Willoughby de Parham, a nobleman of great influence and of various accomplishments. His house was the resort of the most eminent men of the day, and he spared no opportunity of introducing Percival to their acquaintance and patronage. At the instance of the same friend, he was, though the youngest person who had ever received that honor, elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Subsequently he took his degree at Leyden, and, after a tour in Holland and France, settled in Warrington, whence, in 1767, after his marriage, he removed to Manchester. In that city he pursued, for nearly forty years, a professional career, which, for honor, usefulness, and general success, has seldom been paralleled in the provinces. Sir George Baker urged him to offer himself as a candidate for fellowship in the College of Physicians, and held out to him the tempting bait of becoming the first fellow not educated at an English University; but the pressure of business delayed the application until the motive of advantage ceased to operate. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Societies of Edinburgh and of Paris, and a member of the Medical Society of London, of the American Academy of Arts, of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia,

and of other learned and scientific bodies. Among his friends and correspondents he numbered Franklin, the then Lord Lansdowne, Lord Monboddo, Bishops Burgess and Watson, Dean Tucker, Parr, Price, Paley, Beattie, John Howard, Madame Necker, Hannah More, and a host of other persons famous in their generation. To his good offices with Robertson, Priestley was indebted for his diploma from Edinburgh. His voluminous writings, published, some in the Transactions of Societies, and many separately, on Medical, Moral, Mental, Political, and Social Science, were extensively read in England and on the Continent, and still possess a well-recognized value. His "Medical Ethics," in particular, remains the standard work on that subject. The impression made by one of his Moral Tales upon De Quincey and his young sister is recorded in the autobiography to which I have before referred. Distinguished men in his own neighborhood and from abroad clustered around him. Manchester owes to him the foundation of its Literary and Philosophical Society, since made illustrious by its connection with the name of Dalton; and the reform and permanent establishment of its truly Royal Infirmary. An attempt which he made to found a College of Arts, for the improvement of young men engaged in commerce and in manufactures, did not receive public support. Under his auspices, a Board of Health, in the transactions of which I have reason to believe my father took an active interest, was formed about the year 1796, and did something to commence the improvements which have changed that once dirty city into one of the cleanest in the empire.\* He was a warm supporter of Wilberforce in the earliest attempts to suppress the slave-trade, and the first Parliamentary petition from the provinces against that infamous traffic was written by his pen.

His opinions on secular and ecclesiastical politics were very moderate. He wrought earnestly for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, maintaining, on the authority of Lord Mansfield, that "Protestant Nonconformists are not under the connivance, but the express protection of the law, and that their modes of worship are in the fullest sense established;" and drawing a distinction between "the claims of Roman Catholics

\* Probably my father's first composition for the press was written in reference to this subject. It will be found in Appendix B.

and those of the Protestants to trust and power," even though the former shall "acknowledge allegiance to the state," because "their religion is subversive of the established religion of the country; that is, the Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, the Quakers, and all orders of Protestant Dissenters authorized by law; and the community has the same right which an individual enjoys of possessing and providing for the security of its own religion." He approved "the liturgical form of worship." "I feel," he wrote, "an abhorrence of faction, a reverence for our Constitution, and gratitude for the civil and religious privileges we enjoy; but I conceive that power is always disposed to enlarge its boundaries, and that it should be watched with temperate but sedulous attention." Two of his sons matriculated at the English Universities. "I am a Dissenter," he says, in a letter to Paley, on the subject of subscription, "but actuated by the same spirit of Catholicism which you profess; an Establishment I approve; the Church of England, in many respects, I honor; and I should think it my duty instantly to enter her communion, were your plan" (that of a comprehension) "carried into execution." Paley's letter in reply states that every moralist's view of the conditions of subscription: *e. g.*, if a person understand and believe every thing in the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies; if a person think every thing in them as probable as the contrary; if he understand some, but not all, and assent to those understood; if, not thinking any thing contained in them to be *forbidden*, he yet regard some things as not imperative, or as not good and useful, or as not reasonable; or if the intention of the imposer of the test be respected.

I shall not incur any just censure if I speak plainly of Dr. Percival's religious tenets. His sister and earliest teacher was a convert to Arianism, and it is likely that she impressed her new views upon him, when a child, with the usual ardor of a proselyte. Afterward his faith in Christianity itself was shaken by the perusal of Hume's Essay on Miracles; but it was happily restored by the study of Bishop Butler's Analogy, "a writer whom he ever esteemed the chief pillar of Christian doctrine." He settled down into the theological system of his childhood. But his writings continually betray that intense opposition to all fixed standards of belief which, in minds less candid than his, so often leads to a sullen and repulsive dogmatism—a bigotry



without object or excuse. Free thinkers are usually fast thinkers, and, so long as they quickly count the milestones, imagine that their road surely leads to truth; are apt to be angry if stopped, and become the more furious by how much the more clearly it be shown them that they are taking the wrong direction.

Percival's spirit, however, was very patient and tender; and, if he failed to find the truth, it was not for want of a diligent study of the Book which contains it all, but probably from some early and ingrained error as to the conditions upon which only its blessed teachings reach the mind and heart of man. He frequently attended the ministry of the late Rev. Dr. Barnes, at what is now the Unitarian Chapel in Cross Street, Manchester, in the days to which I have already referred, when the odor of the old evangelical doctrine still clung to preachers and to meeting-houses no longer reputed orthodox. In such places, rich and ancient melodies, fraught with the Psalms of David, in the quaint version so justly dear to the children of the Kirk,\* or with the precious hymns of Isaac Watts, still bore up to heaven the worship of, here and there, a hidden saint, and solemnly testified to the mass of drowsy hearers against the hesitation or the positive declension of the pulpit. And, so recently as eighty years ago, Dr. Barnes could wrestle with the consciences of his people in strains like these:

"God is my witness that my soul earnestly longs for your souls' welfare; I have not a wish in my breast more strong, more fervent, more constant than this. I would fain approve myself to God as a successful preacher of the Gospel of Christ. If, at some seasons, I have been willing to hope my labors have not been entirely in vain, at others I have been discouraged and affected, and ready almost to imagine myself a useless cipher in a cause in which, if I know my own heart, my whole soul is sincerely, though, alas! too imperfectly, too negligently engaged. Alas! my friends, forgive my fears; I should be glad to find them false; but I have been afraid that the work of conversion is much at a stand among us. The thought of this sometimes pierces my very soul. I have asked, What shall I do?

\* James Montgomery once said to me that, heartily admitting the great superiority to all others of Charles Wesley's Hymns, he still loved best "*the wild-bee-like-murmur*" of the words and music of his own Moravian worship.

what shall I say? what subject shall I choose? How shall I rouse that stupid conscience, which seems proof against every alarm? How shall I speak, so that not a sleeper shall remain among us?" And, again, speaking of the Redemption by Christ Jesus, "Do you, my dear friends, understand the fitness, the reasonableness, the beauty, the kindness of the plan? Here is the very hinge, the fundamental beauty and glory of the Gospel. I wish you to understand and to feel it; if you understand it aright, you must feel it—powerfully feel and admire it. God has given His 'only-begotten Son, Jesus,' the Brightness of His glory—His Beloved Son—He has given Him to die for your sins; and in this He has at once displayed the greatest hatred of the sin and the greatest mercy to the sinner. It is designed at once to humble and to support the Christian; to humble him, first, under the sense of his own guilt, and then to raise him up in the joyful assurance of pardon and reconciliation. Oh! where is the wretch whose heart does not overflow with inexpressible gratitude—whose soul does not swell with a rapture too great for words to utter, too high for the tongue of an angel to declare! I have, my friends, often been alarmed and grieved at the unconcern which so many discover for the peculiar doctrine of the Gospel of Christ. I should be unworthy the name I bear as an ambassador of Jesus if I were unconcerned in a matter in which His dignity, and the good of the souls of men, are so much at stake. I have endeavored to lay before you the wisdom, and beauty, and fitness of this plan; if you see and feel it in the same manner in which my heart sees and feels it, you will not be able to contain the rising emotions of wonder and love; you will feel a heart-compelling power in the doctrine of the Cross beyond the force of language to express. Alas! I well know that an attempt to explain it to one who has never felt it is, and must be, forever in vain. No. You must be humbled, you must be laid low under the conviction of guilt, you must have passed through the discipline of a broken and contrite spirit, and then, I will venture to affirm, you will feel and acknowledge a something—a Divine, inexpressible something in that scheme which will be matter for your constant admiration and hope in this world, and for your constant meditation and praise in the world to come. Oh, my brethren, my soul is full; I could with pleasure stay here. You will bear me witness that

this is my favorite subject. I have built my eternal hopes upon it. Here I stand, blessed be the name of God, firm and dauntless. I see, I feel the stamp of heaven. That God gave His only-begotten Son appears to me the highest possible display of infinite wisdom, and of infinite, matchless, boundless love. Jesus is the sinner's Friend, the sinner's Hope. 'Thanks be to God for His unspeakable gift.' "

My father always expressed the comfortable hope that such teachings, though counteracted by formal statements of doctrine with which they seemed to him wholly inconsistent, disclosed a state of opinion really, though indistinctly evangelical on the part of the venerable preacher, and of his own friend and benefactor, Dr. Percival. In the case of both of them, he loved to think that dangerous error was not fatal; but it was because the "Name that is above every name," even if confessed with faltering lips, never fails to reach the ear of the all-merciful Father, and to draw down a quick and saving virtue. And there were ripe and clustering evidences that a change not human had passed upon the heart of Dr. Percival, in his devoutness, self-command, habitual sweetness of temper, pious submission to heavy sorrows, expansive charity, and reverence for the Word and Day of God. As to the Sabbath, a quotation from a letter to his eldest son, then at Oxford, will illustrate both his strength, and what I presume to consider as his weakness. And how great a contrast it presents to the sentiments and practices of the "rational Christians" of later times!

"Manchester, February 10th, 1785.

"MY DEAR SON,—I approve very much of the Conversation Society you have established. Such institutions promote the spirit of study by the emulation which they excite; and, while they heighten the zest for knowledge, they give accuracy and permanency to our acquirements. But I lament that you devote a part of Sunday to pursuits foreign to that day. Religion and ethics, considered in an intellectual view, hold the first rank in dignity among the sciences, and to be defective in a systematic acquaintance with them is disgraceful to a scholar and a gentleman; but, regarding them as a rule of life, and the foundation of all our future hopes, they have a pre-eminence, beyond comparison, over every other species of learning. With



such sentiments, it has been my general practice to set apart Sundays to the most important of all studies, and I have experienced very beneficial effects from this regulation. It has greatly diversified my studies, has often checked the sallies of levity, and strengthened all the good impressions of a virtuous and pious education. You know I am free from any superstitious veneration for times and seasons; but every office requires some stated order in its performance. I do not mean to recommend the discussion of moral or theological topics at your meetings, for such dissertations among young men are seldom subservient to any good; but I wish to suggest to you the propriety of assembling on some other day of the week, if you can easily prevail with your friends to comply with such a proposal."

Dr. Percival died in September, 1804, and was interred at the parish church of Warrington. Parr wrote his epitaph; and Dr. Thomas Magee, who married his niece, and who subsequently became Archbishop of Dublin, and author of the *Discourses on the Atonement*, paid just tribute to his memory in the *Monthly Magazine* for 1804. The papers of the deceased were bequeathed to his son Edward and to my father as his literary executors, and in 1807 his collected Works were published in four volumes, prefaced by an elegantly-written Memoir.

The good Providence of God placed Jabez Bunting, when about sixteen years of age, under the care of the excellent man whose course, character, and opinions I have thus rapidly sketched. Edward Percival had taken a great liking to his clever companion; the schoolroom was very near Dr. Percival's house; the two boys went in and out together; the tailor's son attracted attention and sympathy; and his reputation at school strengthened the good opinion formed of him. The busy physician, author, and philanthropist needed the aid of which the absence, and, ultimately, the death of his two elder sons, men of great parts and promise, had deprived him; the more so, because the state of his eyesight rendered him increasingly unequal to meet the demands of daily duties. He required a quick, intelligent amanuensis; and proposed, therefore, to Jabez Bunting's parents, that their son should continue his studies

under his own eye, learn his profession, reside in his family, and be the companion and assistant of his literary labors. This offer, far exceeding any previous expectations for the youth, was gratefully accepted. But his mother feared that his sojourn under a strange roof might wean him from her "own people," now also his. She stipulated, therefore, that he should always spend the night at home, and thus gently detained him under the spell of domestic piety and the power of religious ordinances. In process of time, however, this precaution became unnecessary, and was abandoned.

Considering that my father's ultimate vocation was the Christian ministry, and that he was, almost at the commencement of his career in life, to become an ecclesiastical leader, it is impossible to repress a feeling of regret that he was not subjected to courses of study more directly relating to the sacred calling. He himself always mourned over his irreparable lack of such an advantage. But Methodism at that time made no provision for the training of its ministers; and God directed his paths. A legal education, had he received it, could scarcely have improved his naturally quick faculty of analysis and of arrangement; his cautious, but strong and ready judgment; and the simplicity, freedom, and force of his style, especially as a public speaker; nor, in the then existing state of society, would the habits and associations of students of the law have been favorable either to his moral or to his mental progress. But he was placed under the conduct of a scholar and of a man of science. The knowledge proper to a profession of wide and curious range, but of an earnest and a kindly purpose, was spread before an apt and inquisitive mind, and was eagerly pursued. The study of general literature nurtured his genius and refined his taste. He was taught the minutest details of the art of composition. Above all, he was familiarized with the consideration and discussion of public events, in their relation to order, happiness, and religion.

My father naturally possessed that exquisite modesty of mind which is the main element of gentlemanly feeling. But in the society of Dr. Percival, and of a constant succession of visitors, an advantage to which he was unreservedly admitted, he acquired that nice polish of manner and propriety of speech which made him feel himself at home in all circles, and gave

him, in those in which he usually mixed, a pleasant and easy command. The writer of this record will not try to enforce the lesson it suggests. But, had he a son in course of training for the Methodist ministry, he would ask him to pause and ponder. In pastoral intercourse with the intelligent and rich, but especially with the ignorant and poor, how great the value of that calm self-possession, of that quick observance of the points which attract or repel, and of that willing urbanity of approach, which are among the earliest aims of an enlightened piety, but which only careful and conscientious practice can ripen into habit! And in no community more than in our own does a manifest anxiety to please more directly tend to usefulness. How many "offenses" are avoided—offenses which lead to "strifes," and these to disastrous "divisions"—when the tone of communication among ministers, co-pastors of the same flock, among the officers who regulate the minor departments of Church affairs, and reciprocally between both classes, is uniformly considerate and courteous! At a time when the Methodist ministry is advancing so rapidly to its true position of influence in this country—of power, by God's blessing, to win multitudes to Christ—it were nothing less than a calamity if every possible auxiliary were not pressed into the service. The desire, if "by any means," to "save some" will not despise the use of appliances so simple, yet so important as those of manner and address. Wesley, indeed, in a memorable saying, implored his preachers not to "affect the gentleman," telling them that they had "no more to do with this character than with that of a dancing-master;" and there have been cases, perhaps, of an over-zealous compliance with the precept. But it must not be so interpreted as to deprive us of the benefit of his own example, and of that of many of his associates and immediate successors; these latter, fashioned, as by miracle, into the symmetry of well-bred men. They committed no rudenesses, neglected no obvious proprieties, affected no carelessness in order to hide conscious defects. One comprehensive canon ruled the question with them: "Giving no offense *in any thing*, that the ministry be not blamed."

It would be ungrateful not to refer to the influence which was exercised over Dr. Pereival's pupil by the excellent and accomplished ladies of the family. They honored him with

their friendship at a time when the kind and watchful eye of a sensible woman, kept constantly upon an observant and sensitive young man, acts at once as encouragement and restraint. With the daughters as with their brothers, he cultivated a cordial but respectful intimacy, interrupted only as, one by one, they, with a solitary exception, passed away from earth. With the sole survivor, the youngest son, my father, after many years' separation, had an interview a few months before his own death, and to him he renewed his expressions of love and gratitude to the friends of his youth. It can not be in any sectarian mood that I state that nearly all Dr. Percival's descendants still living\* are, as a result of the habit of personal and free inquiry so warmly commended to them by his example, found in the communion of the Established Church, and that many of them now deceased enjoyed in the hour of departure those ministrations of evangelical truth and power which that Church so abundantly possesses.

Edward Percival, my father's early friend, after practicing with much distinction as a physician in Bath, died in great peace in the year 1819. "I have no *spiritual* pains," he said, when the last languors crept over his weary frame, "and that is something for a dying man to feel." Three of his children sleep in Binstead Church-yard, in the Isle of Wight. Edward, his eldest son, an officer in the Bengal Artillery, closed his life with the words with which David closed the twenty-third Psalm; Thomas, the next in age, with those of Job—"I know that my Redeemer liveth;" and Anne, a married daughter, quoted from the same Psalm as that which had cheered the death-bed of her eldest brother—"Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." The grave of Elizabeth Sophia, "sixth and last-surviving child," and of her first-born, is sealed with this text—"To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

\* One favored lady claims Dr. Percival and Archbishop Magee as her ancestors, and as her husband the great Protestant orator of Liverpool. Another descendant is married to a near connection of "the good archbishop," John Bird Sumner, notwithstanding differences of rank, order, and opinion, the property and pride of all the Churches. Two grandsons, collaterally sprung from the famous Nonconformist, Oliver Heywood, have represented their native county in Parliament. The third generation, in the same line of descent, bids fair to rival the earnest philanthropy and public usefulness of those gone by.



## CHAPTER V.

## RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS.

General Training under Dr. Percival.—Influences on his Character and Opinions.—Religious Improvement.—Formation of a Society for the Acquisition of Knowledge.—Rules.—Bond of Association.—Members.—Subjects discussed.—Essays written for the Society.—First Exposition of Holy Scripture.—The Prayer-meeting at James Ashcroft's House.—His End.—Jabez Bunting's first public Exhortation.—A Prayer-leader.—Manchester Sunday-evening Prayer-meetings.

THE four years spent with Dr. Percival were the only interval between my father's school-days and a very long and active public life. Religiously and intellectually, they made him what he became; but the precise modes in which he improved them are left very much to conjecture. It is known, however, that he read largely with and to his master; wrote often and voluminously, at his dictation, upon all sorts of topics, secular, ethical, and religious; attended such courses of lectures, on subjects proper or incident to his new profession, as were accessible to him in a provincial town; exercised himself continually in original composition; studied men and manners, in the large and various circle of friends and visitors to which he had obtained so fortunate admittance; devoured newspapers; busied himself in thinking and talking about local and national politics; and, altogether, was, by the time he attained his twentieth year, a man ripe for the business of life, with well-tried tools, in well-skilled hands, ready for use in whatever kind of speculative or practical labor he might be called to follow. Best of all sciences, he had learned thoroughly how to work.

His intellectual powers had rapidly matured under the favorable discipline to which they were subjected. Young minds almost necessarily sharpen each other by mutual converse and sympathy. But seldom does a youth make the best use of the society of the aged. My father enjoyed and prized the signal advantage of constant intercourse with a mind acute and vigorous, steadied and strung up to its best possible achievements



by a long and various experience of men and things. Probably it was under such auspices that he acquired, so soon and so remarkably, that almost faultless accuracy of judgment (no one will understand me as speaking of any particular opinions)—that supremacy of the pure reasoning faculty over every other power and bias of the soul, which all who studied my father's mental character agreed to recognize. Nor can it be doubted that the benefit was derived as much from points of difference as from points of union between the physician and his pupil. With all his reverence for Dr. Percival, Jabez Bunting must have felt the need of continual and severe caution. By how much the former was devout and earnest in the profession of his religious faith, by so much it would tincture the whole course and current of his ideas; and, on subjects of religion, the boy's training and conscience had put him ever on his guard; so that much would need careful weighing and strict sifting; not in the fierce and fickle temper of a doubter, but in the spirit of a man who durst not loose his hold of truth. Yet many of Dr. Percival's precise opinions moulded very perceptibly those of which Dr. Bunting was the expounder and the advocate during a long public life. From him, I doubt not, he derived that accurate appreciation of the nature, limits, and advantages of political freedom which, taking form and color, but form and color only, from the quick events of an age crowded with histories, made him, as distinguished from those whose opaque and marble prejudices no light can penetrate nor even earthquake shake, now a somewhat advanced Liberal, then a stern and thorough Tory, and, not unfrequently, both in one. As for religious liberty, the standard sentiment of the tolerant Arian Dissenter, he taught his young disciple well the right, but more the duty of maintaining it; and, in order to its maintenance, of adopting the principle boldly as a whole, and to its uttermost logical extent, thus only defining and hedging it from other principles bordering closely on it, but with no community of either soil or product.\* And an invaluable prepara-

\* I have heard of a Mansion House dinner at which an honored friend of mine, a wise and wary leader of Metropolitan Dissent, who had just spoken to the toast of "Religious Liberty," was astonished to find how much more clearly and courageously the case was put when Dr. Bunting also rose to respond. The Baptist waxed eloquent on the right of every man to hold

tion for one who was to take a prominent part in public affairs was the candor which pervaded Dr. Percival's spirit, writings, and acts. The habit of attentively considering what can be said on the other side, and the circumstances and possible motives of him who says it—the result, primarily, of my father's own patient and generous nature—was, I doubt not, greatly strengthened by observing its constant practice on the part of his master, and, like all other moral discipline, exercised and matured the intellect.

Much has been told me of my father's steady, earnest, and unassuming piety during this period of his life. All the while that his mind was on the strain for improvement, his heart was kept right with God. No Diary, indeed, registers his daily experiences, or the faint remembrances of his nightly dreams. "The secret of the Lord" was with His servant who feared him, and it was well kept—kept as He who made us all meant men of my father's mould to keep it, hid in the silent depths of the spirit; talked about, indeed, in sacred confidence, to those to whom also it had been intrusted, and sometimes testified as a fact, not for show, but for use, to those who could not understand it; but, so far as I can learn, he never vexed and tossed his own soul, or disturbed the faith and peace of others by references to casual and transient feelings which a foggy morning may produce and a gleam of sunshine scatter. Of the reality and strength of religion, action is, in such cases, the only, as in all cases it is the truest test.

Long before his conversion, an impression had rested on his mind that he should one day enter the Christian ministry. This impression would, no doubt, exert a great influence upon the choice and conduct of his studies during the four years of his engagement with Dr. Percival. It is pleasant to mark that, while it did not in any degree divert him from the one professional pursuit to which present duty and prospects urged him, his commonplace books betray the constant and perhaps irresistible bias of his mind to subjects directly bearing on the sacred calling.

his own opinions; the Methodist, on his right to propagate them. But the latter expatiated on the saying of a Baptist. When, in 1813, a deputation from that body waited upon Lord Grey on the subject of the India Bill, "Liberty to hold is no liberty at all, for you can not hinder me," said Andrew Fuller to the astonished Whig nobleman.

In 1796, a boy of seventeen, he became the founder of "A Society for the Acquirement of religious Knowledge, consisting of young men of the Methodist connection in Manchester," the rules of which, written by himself, and of his own composition, appear in a book which has been kindly lent to me. The objects of the association were, "improvement in religious knowledge, experience, and practice; and, secondly, a consequent increase both of the dispositions and of the qualifications which are essential for extensive usefulness in the Church of Christ and in the world at large." It was prescribed that the society should meet once a week, and that, at these weekly meetings, each member, in rotation, should bring forward for consideration some subject of a religious nature, and communicate his own ideas upon it in writing; or he might propose passages of Scripture or quotations from religious books for explanation. Every sixth meeting was employed "in exercises wholly and directly of devotion."

"To this end," says the paper from which I quote, "let each member relate his religious experience, as in a general band or love-feast, but with a particular reference to the effects of this institution on his mind; stating, after a careful examination, on the one hand, whether he has found it to answer those beneficial purposes of instruction and edification which first induced its establishment, and whether he has been able, by the Divine aid, to escape those dangers to which such societies are doubtless exposed, and by which they have heretofore been rendered curses instead of blessings; and freely acknowledging, on the other hand, if he be conscious of any declension in grace, of any decrease in simplicity and earnestness, or of any loss of the life and power of godliness. Let it be remembered that the intention of this society is not to unhinge and to unsettle, but to confirm and to establish the faith of its members in those religious principles which, as Methodists, they have already seen reason to adopt and profess, as well as to capacitate them for defending their tenets against opponents by a fuller knowledge of the arguments, from Scripture and reason, which have convinced their own minds, and overcome all objections or cavils to the contrary. Let the utmost simplicity be constantly preserved, so that, while the business of the society is conducted with perfect order and regularity, there may be as little as pos-

sible of awkward and unnecessary formality. Let all unbecoming and improper levity of spirit be avoided with peculiar vigilance, and repressed, if it should arise, by the solemn thought, "Thou, God, seest me!"

Then there follows the "Bond of Association," in the following terms:

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being earnestly desirous to embrace every opportunity of religious improvement, are of opinion that an institution, on the plan laid down in the foregoing rules might, if properly conducted, be made highly useful to us for that end; because,

"1. It is at once our absolute duty and our invaluable privilege to cultivate, by every means in our power, the rational and moral faculties with which God has graciously endowed us. For those faculties are all talents to be improved, and the *delivery* of the talent is itself a sufficient *call* upon us to use it. The supply of the means is the requisition of the duty.

"2. The more perfectly our holy religion is known and understood, the more amiable and reasonable it will appear; so that a fuller knowledge of it may justly be expected to produce a more cheerful obedience to its laws, and a steadier reliance on its truths. Guilt of any kind is universally allowed to be aggravated by a previous knowledge of duty, which principle presupposes and implies the advantage of knowledge in order to practice.

"3. The more clearly we comprehend the nature and design, the evidences and doctrines of Christianity, and the high sanctions by which it is enforced, the better qualified shall we become for extensive usefulness in promoting its saving influence among our fellow-creatures; and we trust that to this increase of ability for doing good, an increase of the disposition and desire will not fail to be superadded.

"4. The pursuit of religious knowledge is as agreeable as it is profitable; and, by furnishing a source of pleasure in the highest degree rational and pious, may be, under God, no inconsiderable mean of counteracting those allurements to fashionable and foolish amusements which too often draw aside the young and unstable into forbidden paths.

"5. The formation of a society expressly for the purpose is a probable method of attaining these praiseworthy and import-



ant objects, because it incites, by example and emulation, to ardor and diligence of pursuit, and provides opportunities for the mutual communication of opinions, in which 'thought begets thought,' and truth, like fire, is put in motion by collision.

"6. Such an association of *Christian brethren*, by making them better acquainted with each other, encourages and enlarges that communion of saints, which, while it draws closer and closer the bonds of private and individual amity, is also a very powerful obligation to zeal and perseverance in religion. For, as a personal attachment to the beloved companions of their folly is, with many, the chief unhappy tie which retains them in the service of sin, notwithstanding their full conviction of the danger and misery in which that service involves them—as such an attachment seldom fails considerably to obstruct (and sometimes entirely prevents) the accomplishment of good desires and resolutions in those who begin to throw off the yoke of Satan, so it is hoped that the affection of the members of the proposed society, one to the other, will strengthen and confirm their love and attachment to that common cause which interests and engages them all, and thus be a most effectual dissuasive and preservative from backsliding. Mr. Wesley, with his usual terseness and force of expression, somewhere speaks of a certain class of sinners as '*going to hell for company*;' so, among many other reasons which Christians have for going to *heaven*, they love one another so well that they are determined to go thither *for company*.

"We are aware, however, of the dangers which may attend such an institution. But the liability to abuse is no sound argument against the use of it; and, although these possible dangers will call for particular and unwearied vigilance to obviate them, yet we conceive they would by no means justify us in giving up an undertaking which promises advantages so many and so desirable.

"By these and other weighty considerations, we are led to form, and *we do hereby form ourselves into a society for religious improvement*, on the plan pointed out in the preceding rules, by which we agree to be governed so long as we shall continue to be members. We will, by all means, promote the honor and success of the institution; and we earnestly beseech the God of all grace so to bless our undertaking, that we may



each become wise unto salvation, and wise to win souls. These are our two grand and common objects. And we will endeavour to try all our knowledge by the apostolic text: *'The Wisdom from above is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality (or, as the margin reads, without wrangling), and without hypocrisy.'*"

This document is signed by Jabez Bunting; by James Wood and John Marsden, both of whose names have been already mentioned; by Edward Westhead, afterward of considerable note among the Manchester Methodists, a man of sterling worth and of most generous and amiable temper, and the father of one of the present members for the city of York; by William Bennett, for nearly sixty years a minister in Nova Scotia; by Edward Jones, almost forty years a minister, and one of the principal founders of Methodism in North Wales; by Solomon Ashton, afterward an Independent minister at Stockport; by Joshua Rea, George Burton, John Heywood, and James Morris, early and intimate friends of my father; and by Luke Gray and John Worsley, who still survive.

The society seems to have proceeded very prosperously for several years, discussing all sorts of subjects with considerable courage. "The Being of God;" "The Attributes of God;" "What is Faith, and how it justifies?" "What are the Motives that induce Men to serve God?" "The Proof of the Day of Grace being past;" "The Operations of the Holy Spirit in the Soul of Man;" "The Freedom of the Human Will," settled to every body's apprehension, after two discussions; "The Fall of Man;" "The Millennium;" "The Devices of Satan;" "The Origin and Nature of Sin;" "The Nature of the Unpardonable Sin;" "The Crime of Apostasy, and the Sin unto Death;" "The Benefits, Dangers, and Duties resulting from the Institution of a Society for the Attainment of Religious Knowledge;" "The Hidings of God's Face;" "Self-denial;" "Prayer;" "The Doctrine of the Atonement;" "What is Man?" "The Passions of the Human Heart;" "The Duty of Zeal and Activity in promoting Piety;" "The Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul;" "The Nature and Offices of Conscience;" "The Conduct proper to be pursued by Young Men with regard to Marriage"—by "Brother Westhead;" "The Origin of the Soul"—which perplexed them for three nights; "Proofs of the

Doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of the Son and Spirit;" "The Sin of Evil-speaking;" "Fashionable Amusements"—a paper read, in three parts, on three successive evenings; "The Doctrine of Providence;" "The Fourth Commandment;" "The Benefits of Affliction;" "Friendship;" "The Fear of Man;" "The Lawfulness and Expediency of a Christian's bearing Arms for the Defense of the Country against a French Invasion"—two papers; "Is it proper and expedient that Religious Persons should *immediately* come forward to learn the Use of Arms, and in what Mode ought they to offer their Services?" "The Resurrection and Glorification of the Body;" "The Combat between the Flesh and the Spirit;" "The final Perseverance of the Saints;" "The Perfection of the Saints in Heaven;" "The Means necessary to be used in promoting the Revival of Religion;" "The Legality of eating Blood, or things strangled;" "The Evidences of Christianity;" "The Man of Sin;" "Is it lawful for Women to Preach?" "Contentment;" "Good Works;" "On the best Means of knowing the Will of God in any case;" "Is a Child born pure?"—a subject which Lord Palmerston had not then settled; "Doth a Believer sin, and how far is a Believer sanctified when justified?"—considered four nights, and recorded as dismissed; "The Duties of the Young;" "The Church Catechism;" "Were the Apostles Converted Men before the Day of Pentecost?" "Baptism"—occupying three nights, on the last of which "two pamphlets were read, one for, the other against Infant Baptism; in doing this all the time was taken up;" "The State of Adam before the Fall;" "The Witness of the Spirit;" "Conformity to the World;" "Marriage"—again by "Brother Westhead," which was discoursed upon by the brethren, and left for farther discussion;" "Is God the Author of Sin?" "The Eternity of Hell Torments;" "How is Faith the Gift of God?"—these and other matters sharpened the wits of the young disciples.

After "Brother Bunting" went to his first circuit, he attended very few meetings of the society, and it appears to have come to a speedy end. "Brother Ashton not coming prepared with his subject, that passage of Scripture, 'Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves,' was conversed upon by the brethren." "Brother Ashton being absent, Brother Hull proposed for consideration, 'Is the brute creation immortal?'" "The reg-

ular subject not being brought forward, that passage of Scripture, 'Cast not your pearls before swine,' was considered. "The passage of Scripture which relates to the destruction of the children by the bears was considered;" which, with a few more discussions on "The Millennium," "The Origin of the Soul," and "The Origin of Evil," terminated a course of nearly four years' somewhat comprehensive range of topics. The meetings were held sometimes at five o'clock in the morning, and at others at half past eight in the evening.

My father wrote copiously in preparation for some of the discussions which took place at this society. Three elaborate essays are still extant; one "On the Freedom of the Will," considered December 15th and 22d, 1796; the second, "On the Benefits, Dangers, and Duties resulting from the Institution of a Society for Religious Improvement," a kind of inaugural address, read, rather too late, on April 27th, 1797; the third on Amusements in general, with particular references to Theatrical Entertainments, Operas, the Circus, Cards, and other games of chance, Dancing, Balls and Assemblies, Masquerades, Cock-fightings, Horse-races, and the perusal of Novels and Plays—read on November 23d and 30th, 1797. He also read, in December, 1799, and after he had gone to his first circuit, a paper on "the best Means of discovering the Will of God, being an abridgment of a Paper on that Subject found at length in Pike and Hayward's 'Cases of Conscience.'" The length of these documents precludes the possibility of transferring to these pages any such extracts from them as would illustrate the young writer's powers of thought and style. But, without disturbing the course of my narrative, I place in the Appendix\* some shorter papers which will answer the same purpose.

Probably the minute-book of the society records his first attempt to expound Holy Scripture. "Thursday morning, December 29th, 1796, Brother Rea being detained by indisposition, the president, J. Bunting, read the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which afforded matter for conversation."

A minute dated December 14th, 1797, also connects itself with the earliest exercises of his talents in the department he so long occupied. "It was unanimously resolved, (1.) That,

\* Appendices C and D.

as it is one of the great and common objects of this institution to promote an increase of the dispositions and qualifications essential to extensive usefulness, it is highly desirable that we should unite, as a body, in the prosecution of some plan by which we may evince our ardent desire to win souls, and have an opportunity of bringing into use and exercise that degree of spiritual knowledge, whatever it be, which, by Divine help, we have acquired. (2.) That the prayer-meeting in Cross Lane, which a few members of this society have for some time past carried on, appears to furnish us with such an opportunity, and that we will conscientiously embrace it by attending in rotation, with such other Christian friends as may join us in this good work. (3.) That, for this purpose, a plan be prepared previously to Thursday, the 21st instant, to be then laid before us for examination and adoption."

A "Plan for Attendance on the Meeting in Cross Lane" was proposed and adopted at the next meeting. Five-and-twenty persons, generally in detachments of four, were appointed to attend on successive Sunday afternoons, and grouped together are the names of William Birch, James Wood, John Marsden, Edward Westhead, and Jabez Bunting; and, again, those of Robert Barnes, George Woollam, James Morris, and Jabez Bunting; the first of those last-mentioned reminding me of a man of whom my father often spoke as an example of Christian activity and zeal, and whose son and namesake has honorably distinguished himself in his native city.

This prayer-meeting was held at the house of one James Asheroft, a mechanic, then a well-meaning man, but a fanatic. His fellow-workmen used to laugh at his profession of religion. One day their mockery was more than usually keen, and he grew angry. "I do love Christ," he shouted, "and I can burn for Him;" with which words he thrust his hand into the fire, and held it there until he thought his testimony complete. But his was an "aguish love," if it was ever real; and, twenty years afterward, this same man, his son, his brother, and one William Holden, were convicted, at the Lancaster Assizes, upon evidence which their own admissions elicited, of a murder committed in open day upon two women, at Pendleton, near Manchester, within half a mile of the house where the prayer-meeting had been held. All the prisoners had pleaded "Not guilty;" and



when the verdict was given, James Ashcroft, being demanded why judgment of death should not be passed upon him, said, "Because so many lies have been told of us; and I pray that God Almighty would even now send down upon that table the angels of those murdered women to testify of our innocence." The three other convicts gave similar replies; and, when the last had finished, all cried aloud, "Yes, we are all innocent, *and we shall die declaring our innocence.*" Then James Ashcroft, waving a handkerchief, with a voice which shook the very hearts of the by-standers, exclaimed, "Glory be to God, we are innocent, and we shall die innocent." Three days after they were led to the scaffold. First Holden addressed the crowd, strongly denying the justice of the sentence; then, and in like terms, David Ashcroft. The father then kissed his son; but neither spoke to the other nor to the people. All four, in their last solemn prayers, appealed to the Great Searcher of hearts that they were guiltless of the crime for which they were about to suffer. This over, they stood in grim array while the hangman pulled down upon their faces the coverings which were to veil their dying shame, and looked warily to see that the fatal cords were surely tied. Then rose, as by some token before agreed upon, a dull and muffled sound. The wretched creatures sang, upon the brink of death, that same Psalm, with words from which trembling on his lips John Wesley went to Paradise:

"I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,  
And, when my voice is lost in death,  
Praise shall employ my nobler powers;  
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,  
While life, and thought—"\*

But here the drop fell. And those four startled, shuddering souls took their forced leap into the gulf that yawned to meet them; and there were heard the deep gasp and sigh of the huge, gazing multitude; and then four dead bodies swung heavily to and fro in the life-laden air of morning!

We shrink naturally from believing that the last words of the departing are intentionally false, and for some time the popular

\* The verse continues:

"And being last,  
Or immortality endures."



feeling ran in this direction. And so, when it was rumored, long afterward, that another man, on his death-bed, had cleared up the mystery by declaring himself the only murderer, some impression, not yet entirely effaced, was again created that the law had missed its proper victim. But all who read the records of the trial, and are accustomed to weigh evidence, will feel a comfortless persuasion that James Ashcroft was an accomplice in the bloody deed. "Lord, Lord, thou hast taught in our streets! But He shall say, I tell you I know you not whence ye are." "But what! is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" "Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth; and *forthwith they sprung up*, BECAUSE they had no deepness of earth; and when the sun was up, they were scorched, and because they had no root, they withered away." "Wherefore, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall." Which of these passages furnishes the solution of this strange story?

It was at James Ashcroft's doorway, one Sunday afternoon early in 1798, that my father first addressed a congregation on religious subjects. He stood up, and, after singing and prayer, delivered a short extemporaneous exhortation, without a text, to such passers-by as the service itself, or the speaker's youth, induced to stop and listen. During the sittings of the Conference in Manchester in 1849, he passed and noted the place, and related the story of the murderer.

In the mean time, he had become a regular "prayer-leader." In those days, the main strength and efforts of zealous young Methodists were spent upon the adult rather than upon the young, and Manchester was pervaded by a system of prayer-meetings, held principally after chapel-hours on Sunday evenings, by means of which the water of life, fresh from the fountain of the sanctuary, was carried to large multitudes of people who themselves never fetched it. Small companies were collected together, generally in cottages, and the simple services attracted ready and general sympathy. Short hymns, short prayers, and short but earnest addresses—exercises suited, not to the stated worship of the Church, but to the awakening of ignorant and careless sinners—roused the attention of the people, and a respect for religion was induced where its power was unknown or but little felt. At these meetings, too, many who

longed for the privileges of the Sabbath, but, busy, persecuted, or ashamed of ragged poverty, habitually went without them, hailed its dawn as its curfew sounded, and, while the bell rang out the day, seized eagerly its evening blessing. And great was the advantage realized by those who led the humble devotions. It was the drill of the private; it was that, and much more, to those who were thereafter to head the armies of Israel. These came into close contact with the common people, and were taught that preciousness of common gifts; while, "by reason of use," talents were developed, the best direction of them gradually ascertained, piety deepened, and a healthy glow of encouragement and of hope thrown into the laborer's own heart and around the expected service of a lifetime. City missions are a great modern institute; but the agency of which I now speak is something even simpler and more extensive, and bores more deeply and directly into the lowest strata of society. It is not the casual, nor even the periodical visit, however useful, of the hired missionary, but the erection in every lane and alley of the standard of Gospel ordinances. And all of average intelligence may, under proper regulations, engage in this work. It requires no pecuniary outlay; it may be set about the very next Sunday evening; and, even when conducted on the largest scale, it is happily disencumbered of all that apparatus of wheel and weight which impedes so many efforts to do good. "A Plan of the Methodists' Sunday-evening Prayer-meetings in Manchester," for the quarter commencing September, 1798, and signed "Jabez Bunting, 35 Church Street, Secretary," would be placed in the Appendix, but that the size of the sheet forbids its insertion. It bears the names of two hundred and twelve prayer-leaders, the flower of the society, who regularly visited sixty-four places in the town and in its immediate neighborhood.

I conjecture that the "Rules of the Manchester Methodists' Prayer-meetings," and, in the same little pamphlet, the "Directions concerning Prayer and Prayer-meetings," were published about this period. The latter will be found in the Appendix,\* as containing much that is of permanent value; and I like their good old Methodist flavor.

\* See Appendix E.

## CHAPTER VI.

## TRAINING FOR THE SERVICE OF METHODISM.

Ministers in early Life.—Murlin.—Pawson.—Lee.—Thompson.—Taylor.—Rodda.—Hopper.—Adam Clarke.—Bradburn.—Mather.—Rutherford.—Barber.—The Connectional Disputes of 1795 and 1797.—Jabez Bunting's Interest in them.—Their Effect upon his Opinions and Policy.

THERE were other preachers besides Joseph Benson whose ministry and pastoral care, but, above all, their character and example, trained Jabez Bunting for the service of Methodism. But how upon my narrow canvas are so many figures to be crowded? Murlin, Pawson, Lee, Thompson, Taylor, Rodda, Hopper, Bradburn, Clarke, Mather, Rutherford, and Barber, to say nothing of others, very useful in their day, but whose individual labors have left an impression on posterity less distinct and lasting, were all stationed in the Manchester circuit during the period of my father's childhood and youth.

MURLIN, "the weeping prophet," who lies in Wesley's grave; PAWSON, a remarkable instance of a moderate capital of natural gifts so husbanded, improved, and consecrated as to enrich and bless, to an incalculable extent, both its possessor and thousands who came within his influence—some of whose dying expressions were, "Christ died for me. I am mounting to the throne of God! Where would you have me go?" "TOMMY LEE," whom Grimshaw first employed as an itinerant, and who was as well mobbed, and as often beaten, stoned, and ducked as any man of his time, besides being once painted all over for the truth's sake; THOMAS TAYLOR, clever, confident, hard-working, but altogether humble and innocent, who, when stationed in Glasgow, "frequently desired" his "landlady not to provide any thing for dinner, and, a little before noon," dressed himself "and walked out till after dinner," and then came home to his "hungry room with a hungry belly," while "she thought he had dined out somewhere, and" he "saved his credit;" and whose brave words, uttered in a sermon preached the night before he died—"I should like to die like an old soldier, sword in hand"

—struck a chord upon the harp of Montgomery which will vibrate while time endures,\* Robda, a Cornish miner, saved by the interference of a good Quaker from being impressed and sent to the Havana, and, by the fact of his having knelt to pray, from being crushed to atoms in the mines, and who died, after long years of labor, of “a long succession of damp beds;” CHRISTOPHER HOPPER, eloquent, energetic, and effective, whose written experience comprises a creed worthy to stand by the side of those elaborated by councils of divines,† and whose life was modeled upon the advice given to him in a moment of peril by Wesley: “Stand upon the edge of this world, ready to take wing; having your feet on earth, your eyes and heart in heaven”—these six their “own son in the Gospel,” the venerable Thomas Jackson, has embalmed, for the most part in their own grave and simple language, in the three volumes of “The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,” published at the Connec-tional Book Establishment in 1838; volumes which, to the great

\*

“Servant of God, well done!

Rest from thy loved employ,” etc.

Montgomery's Poetical Works, edition 1850, page 305.

† “I can say but little about the controversy between the Calvinian brethren and the Arminians. I believe Christ tasted death for every man; but I do not love contention; I am no disputant; I therefore leave polemical divinity to men of learning, abilities, and experience. I can only say, I have been greatly humbled for my sin. I know in whom I have believed. I know God is love. I know it by experience. He hath loved me, and given His Son for me. I have peace with God, through faith in the blood of Christ. I am at peace with all the saints, with all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. I desire to follow after peace with all men. I hate sin, and by the grace of God I overcome it. I love holiness, the whole mind that was in Christ, and I pursue it. By all means I follow on, if I may apprehend that for which I was also apprehended of Christ Jesus. I aim at, wish, and pray for, all that grace, glory, and immortality promised by the Father, and procured by the Son of His love. This I call Bible religion, genuine Christianity; and this religion I call mine. This I desire to recommend to all men by preaching His word in the pulpit, in the house, and in the way; in season and out of season, according to my ability. Without this religion, all names, notions, and forms, among all sects and parties, are but mere parade and idle show. Without repentance, without faith in the blood of Christ, without holiness of heart and life, without love to God and man, all is nothing. Let all men consider this well, and pray for, and seek after, this one thing needful, that they may be saved from sin in this life, and from hell in the great day of the Lord Jesus!”



loss of an age curious in the analysis of character, still linger in their second edition.

ADAM CLARKE, the hard-headed, self-sustained, and resolute Hebridean, with the large heart and lively genius of an Irishman; the conscientious and pains-taking student; the various scholar; the preacher, careful, plain when most profound, and always evangelical, pointed, and earnest; the diligent pastor; the good son, loving husband, fond father, and faithful friend; above all—with some eccentricities of character and conduct, and not without some grave errors of opinion—a godly, old-fashioned, genial, and thoroughly lovable Methodist preacher—this great colossal figure, whose bold outline and fine proportions can never be hid by the crowds of little men who from time to time have swarmed its sides and stood upon its shoulders to be stared at, Dr. Etheridge has recently placed on a fitting pedestal, and fixed in its true position, conspicuous in the gallery of connectional heroes.

But upon my father, as upon most other Methodists of that day, no preacher, as such, except Benson, created an impression stronger than that produced by SAMUEL BRADBURN. He was a child ten years old when first he heard him preach. Afterward, when himself on probation for the ministry in the Oldham Circuit, he was in the habit of walking into Manchester and back again, some fourteen miles, and that on the Saturday evening, for the purpose of listening to Bradburn's week-night sermons. The biography of this extraordinary man, attempted by a daughter, immediately after his decease, under circumstances of great discouragement, has yet to be written. I can but hastily sketch its more striking features.

The son of a common soldier, and born at Gibraltar in 1751, his mother, when he was an infant, took him away from school because she found it inconvenient, or thought it needless to spend three halfpence a week on his education. His father, when serving in Germany, had become acquainted with the Methodists who fought in the battle of Dettingen, and whose lives form an interesting chapter in the history of Christianity in the army. The result was, that, though he did not formally join them, he began to lead a new life, and trained his thirteen children in the fear of God. He settled at Chester; and his son Sammel, apprenticed to a cobbler, became also "an absolute slave to the devil and sin."



One evening, however, "in the close of the year 1769," while the youth "was making a few cursory remarks on the season, and looking at some decayed flowers in a garden adjoining the house" he worked in, he was suddenly convinced of the evil of his doings. He sneaked back to the Methodist chapel; "fasted to an extreme;" "roamed about the fields till the wind and rain almost caused the skin to peel off his cheeks;" "often put his feet in cold water, and sat on the side of a ditch till the pain nearly took away his senses; and read religious books, but daily grew more wretched." So, when he had tried every other way, he was shut up to the true one. "I exclaimed, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Thou didst die for sinners; if there be yet mercy for me, oh! reveal Thy love in my poor tormented heart.' This I said in the bitterness of my soul." He found peace with God, and joined the society. After many temptations and experiences, such as commonly befall men of sanguine temperament, his piety acquired some solidity, and he began to preach. Many, and none more than himself, doubted his call; and he determined to consult Fletcher, at Madeley, who told him to "go forward in the name of the Lord," and to "be humble and diligent;" adding, "If you should live to preach the Gospel forty years, and be the instrument of saving only one soul, it will be worth all your labor." In 1774 he became a regular itinerant.

At this period of his life commence the extracts from his Journal which have been disclosed to the public eye; a most suggestive record of the spiritual man, conflicting constantly with strong natural passions, with adverse fortunes, and often with the dark demon of insanity itself. But, wherever else he failed or faltered, he never trod the pulpit-floor but with the assured air of an habitual conqueror. He had a pleasant and commanding person, an easy carriage, a voice exquisitely musical, a clear and comprehensive intellect, a ready and retentive memory, and a quick invention; while his style was pure and elegant, and the tone and manner of his preaching, as a rule, very warm and affectionate. But he had also that which none of these alone, nor the whole combined, could furnish—the sympathies and powers of a great natural orator. He supplied to a considerable extent the deficiencies of his early education, and what remained were covered by the mantle of his genius.

The secret of his great popularity, both within and beyond the borders of his own church, is fully explained, if to these, its legitimate elements, be added a certain strange and savage humor, which seasoned his discourses to the taste of the vulgar, rather than commended them to the admiration of the intelligent and pious. Yet great injustice would be done to his reputation were the idea conveyed that, in his best days, his sermons were flavored very strongly with the cheap and coarse condiments commonly retailed by the demagogue and the buffoon. There is a species of sarcasm, the use of which, even in the most sacred places and connections, is justified by the possession of the faculty to employ it, and by exact Scripture precedents;\* and, when Bradburn was most himself, he handled with dignity and effect that formidable weapon. He must be taken as a whole, and as we are accustomed to take far inferior men in our own day. His career was brilliant and useful; and perhaps more men longed, but durst not try, to preach like him, than like any other preacher of his time.

His generosity, vivacity, and stern sincerity of character attracted the universal love of his brethren; and, after having served the office of secretary, he was elected president of the Conference in 1799. Three years afterward—the solitary instance in our annals of an ex-president being so humbled—he stood a culprit at its bar—(“wine” “biteth like a serpent”)—and received its solemn censure; and it was ordered that his

\* If any doubt this, let him read the published sermons of the late Dr. Richard Winter Hamilton; volumes which, for the credit of the Congregationalists, ought to be republished in a cheap and popular form. The style, indeed, is as unnatural as his great genius could invent; but, like all his other writings, they are rich in a sound, philosophical, and thoroughly evangelical theology, and sparkle with eloquence and beauty. Nor can I omit a passing reference to the rare accomplishments and kindly charities of a man often misunderstood and always underrated, but whose serene good-nature, pellucid frankness, noble independence, and unrivaled conversational powers made him the delight of those who enjoyed his friendship. One specimen of his many clever sayings will suffice; and I give it, notwithstanding I have no sympathy with the opinions which dictated it. “I have heard,” he said, “of a young curate who was so fond of the Thirty-nine Articles that he wished there were forty. For my part, they always remind me of the ‘forty stripes save one.’” Some beautiful sonnets, written by Dr. Hamilton, and dated at Leeds, appeared some years ago in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, and were attributed by Wilson to Michael Thomas Sadler.

name should not appear on the minutes of the year. Few survive who witnessed the scene—the heart-grief of those who sat in judgment on a father “overtaken in a fault,” and the deep, ingenuous penitence of the offender, as he blessed God for the discipline which had punished his offense, and even thanked the men upon whom the duty of detecting and of reporting it had fallen. After the interval of a year he was restored to his proper standing. But, though he continued to travel for eight or ten years more, and never lost his influence in the pulpit, his *Journal* tells of a broken spirit, of pecuniary straits, and of many bodily infirmities. Yet there runs through the whole of it a strain of genuine, if imperfect piety. His mind decayed before his body died; but the last truths he understood were those which he had so powerfully preached, and his end was peace.

His name stands godfather to many queer sayings and doings for which it is not responsible; but the man still survives in some stories unquestionably true. Such was one related by my father. During the session of the Conference of 1791, four months after Wesley's death, Bradburn preached before that venerable body. He referred pathetically to their recent loss, to the danger of fatal disunion, and to the necessity of a common and hearty adherence to the faith and discipline of Methodism. Gradually he kindled into the highest oratory; and, anxious to make the best of the effect he felt he had produced, raised his voice, and appealed to those of the preachers present who intended to stand by the “old plan” to rise and testify it. Every preacher in the chapel sprang at once upon his feet. There was a solemn silence, broken shortly by a cry from the gallery, “Here's a woman in distress.” “Hold your tongue, you fool!” screamed Bradburn, indignant that attention should be thus diverted from his real object. None dared to smile; but all knew that the benefit of the sermon was irreparably lost, more by his own than by any other interruption of the current of thought and feeling.

On another occasion Bradburn requested my father, then in his first circuit, to attend at the minister's house in Dale Street, Manchester, at a specified hour. His summons was obeyed. Bradburn was sitting in company with two aged women, and all were evidently waiting for the young preacher's arrival. “Now, ladies,” said he, “I knew you had a great deal to say

about each other, and that the opportunity would be very edifying, so I have sent for Mr. Bunting, from Oldham, to enjoy it: pray proceed." First one sister, and then the other, emptied her well-stored budget of scandal and abuse, their pastor maintaining a stately gravity, and interfering only when both strove to talk at once. They soon saw how ridiculous the scene was becoming, and rose to retire. Bradburn thanked them for the profit afforded to himself and to his friend, and bowed them to the door, chuckling, on his return into the room, on the success of his endeavor to stay an evil not uncommon among professors of religion.\*

ALEXANDER MATHER, or as, when young, he wrote his name, M'Mather, though worthily commemorated by Mr. Jackson, can not be passed by with a simple reference in the Biography of Jabez Bunting. Born at Brechin in 1733, he was carefully trained by his parents in the fear of God, and shared in the educational advantages which the piety and wisdom of John Knox insured as the birthright of every Scotchman. So well had he been taught, that, when he grew up, he "was an utter stranger to the vices common among men." As was wont, he learned the Assembly's Catechisms by heart; and when he "was at the Latin school, the master, every Lord's day, after the service, used to hear what could be remembered of the sermons, and to pray with his scholars." "Under one of his prayers," says Mather himself, "when I was about ten years old, I was struck with strong convictions, and these never quite left me, and I always retained a desire to be a Christian." In the year '45, "out of a childish frolic," he joined a party of the rebels; was present, as I infer from his narrative, at the Battle of Culloden; and, after the defeat, made his way back again as fast as he could. His mother, who had gone in search of him, met him on the road; but his father refused to let him come into the

\* I had received an impression that, at times, when my father waxed boldly oratorical, his eloquence, in some of its qualities, resembled that attributed by tradition to Bradburn. The Rev. Isaac Keeling has favored me with a letter, in answer to an inquiry directed to this subject. The limits necessarily assigned to this chapter forbid its insertion here in full, and to abridge a paper so replete with interesting detail and practical wisdom is out of the question. I therefore place it in the Appendix (Appendix F), where its own merits, not less than the reputation of its sagacious writer, will secure for it an attentive perusal.



house, and even informed against him.\* Marched between a file of musketeers, he was taken before the commanding officer, who, after asking him many questions, ordered him to go home. Thither he went; but, instead of being sent again to school, the father employed him in his own business of a baker. When eighteen years old he went to Perth. An acquaintance asked him to go with her to the "Episcopal meeting." "It affected me much, and from that time I attended it whenever I could; and I can not but say it was of great use to my soul, and has proved so ever since." Probably the going to the Episcopal meeting at Perth was the result of the expedition to Culloden, and both gave a bias to Mather's subsequent opinions as a leader among the Methodists. In 1752 he went to London, and occupied himself in his trade; but, as he was a "foreigner," his master was summoned to Guildhall, and obliged to put him away. He soon found other employment. In 1753, a fellow-townswoman, resident in London, and whom he had known as a child, sought him out, and they were soon married. They seem to have lived a very steady life, and she enjoyed the comforts of religion. The same year he entered the service of Mr. Marriott, a zealous Methodist. Here he found what he "had long desired, a family wherein was the worship of God." "This stirred me to be more earnest in seeking Him." "I have sometimes gone to my knees when I was going to bed, and have continued in that position till two o'clock, when I was called to work. But I could find no peace, nor could I tell what hindered, unless it were the baking of pans, as they called it, on Sundays." He would gladly have refrained from this; but then he must have left his place. This he resolved to do "as soon as Christmas was over." Meantime he had no rest; and though he went to the "Holy Communion," and "found some comfort," the sense of his guilt in profaning the Sabbath soon took it away. On the Monday morning he gave his master warning. The old Methodist "did not then speak one word, but soon after came into the shop and talked the matter over." The same day he went "to all of the trade in Shoreditch and Bishopsgate Without." All but two agreed at once to give up the Sunday baking. He then called a meeting of master-bakers, but noth-

\* In return for which unnatural behavior, the son, when a Methodist preacher, provided for the comfort of the father's last years.



ing could be concluded. Afterward he asked the advice of "our brethren at the Foundery," then the one Methodist chapel in London. "After he had taken all these steps," proceeds Mather, "more than I could reasonably expect, he told me, 'I have done all I can, and now I hope you will be content.'" Mather thanked his master, and told him he could not stay in his service. "But I continued in prayer; and on Sunday evening, after family worship, he stopped me and said, 'I have done to-day what will please you. I have staid at home, and told all my customers I will no more bake on a Sunday.' I told him, 'If you have done this out of conscience toward God, be assured it will end well.'" And so it did. Marriott became wealthy; lived to attend the ministry of his apprentice, changed into his superintendent, and for a long series of years dispensed extensive charities. His son was one of Wesley's executors; and his grandson, Thomas Marriott, who died childless, and appointed my father one of his executors, bequeathed many thousands of pounds to Methodist objects. Mather was taken by his master to the Foundery, at which his wife, when she heard of it, was very angry. Nevertheless, she went with him, though much afraid of his being drawn into some wrong way. "John Nelson preached an alarming discourse, which I hoped would affect her much; but, on the contrary, she was much disgusted, saying, 'He has shown me the way to hell, and not the way to get out of it.' But I thank God He has shown me that Jesus Christ is the way." Then they went to a class-meeting; but his careful helpmeet never helped him in a hurry. "I was much pleased and refreshed; but she said, 'They had all agreed what to say, in order to catch us.'" Then Wesley came to town, and Mather heard him preach. "It was the first time I ever heard or saw you. Under that sermon God set my heart at liberty." Husband and wife soon joined the society.

It was not long before Mather thought that God had called him to preach; and, after he and his religious companions had set apart some days for fasting and prayer, he mentioned the subject to Wesley, who quietly told him, "This is a common temptation to young men. Several have mentioned it to me; but the next thing I hear of them is that they are married, or upon the point of it." "Sir, I am married already." "Care not for it, but seek God by fasting and prayer." "This I have

done." Whereupon Wesley strongly "recommended patience and perseverance therein."

Wesley soon sent him to preach, and very diligently did he toil. "After hasting to finish my business abroad, I have come home in the evening, changed my clothes, and run to preach at one or another chapel; then walked or run back, changed my clothes, and gone to work at ten; wrought hard all night, and preached at five next morning. I ran back to draw the bread at a quarter or half an hour past six, wrought hard in the bake-house till eight, then hurried about with the bread till the afternoon, and perhaps set off at night again."

Wesley fixed his eyes upon this perfervid Scotchman, and in 1756 proposed that he should go with him to Ireland as a traveling preacher. Mather was quite willing, if the stewards would provide his wife with four shillings a week during his absence; but the funds of the society would not allow them to make the pledge. So he remained at his business for another year, when, his wife's maintenance being secured, he commenced his itinerancy by walking a hundred and fifty miles to Epworth, in Lincolnshire.

He rose to immediate distinction in the connection, and for forty-three years endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, watched in all things, did the work of an evangelist, made full proof of his ministry. Wesley ordained him, and chose him to advise and assist him in the management of the affairs of the connection, so that he was known for a considerable period as "Wesley's right-hand man." Benson portrays him as a preacher: "He had very clear and just views of the truth as it is in Jesus, in all its branches; and his preaching was peculiarly instructive, and very forcible and impressive. He was never at a loss for abundance and variety of edifying matter; and, had he had the aid of a classical education, his discourses, through a better arrangement, would have appeared to much more advantage. His apprehension was peculiarly quick, his genius fertile, and his memory tenacious. Being naturally a man of strong passions, and divine grace having softened and humbled his heart, he generally felt himself the truths he delivered to others, and, in consequence thereof, his hearers felt them too." And Pawson describes his wisdom, fidelity, and tenderness as a pastor of the flock in words which, with the note ap-

pended to them in Jackson's "Lives,"\* may be read with much advantage. "That he was highly acceptable wherever he was stationed, all, I believe, will acknowledge; and as none could exceed him in diligence, so he was, in general, very useful. The Lord attended his labors with an abundant blessing. It may easily be learned in what circuits he was stationed from the time he breaks off his narrative till he finished his work upon earth, by those who will take the trouble to look into the minutes of our several Conferences. And therefore, as I am not able to say what particular success attended his labors in those circuits, I shall waive relating that here. However, as from the year 1791 to 1794 he was stationed at Hull, and the three following years at Manchester, and in the year 1797 at Leeds, I beg leave to observe that in all those places there was a considerable revival of the work of God. Many persons in those circuits were awakened, and brought to the saving knowledge of God in a short time. This work was attended with some irregularities, and much noise and confusion. On such occasions, indeed, there are never wanting headstrong and imprudent persons, who have far more zeal than discretion. These would take the work out of the hands of God into their own, and drive the people forward much faster than they can go, and persuade them to profess faith before their judgment is rightly informed concerning the nature of faith, or their conscience awakened to a sense of sin, and, by so doing, ruin the work of God. These hot-headed persons generally look upon all to be gold which glitters, and account all to be enemies to the work of God who are not as rash and as ignorant as themselves. Hence it requires no small degree of prudence, as well as courage, to withstand them, and to preserve others from running into their error. Mr. Mather, having had large experience in the different ways in which the Lord generally carries on His work, acted with wonderful prudence; and, as he was a man that would use his authority when occasion required, he resolutely insisted upon proper order being kept in those prayer-meetings, which were well attended, and in which much good was done. By this means he preserved the work from that reproach and contempt which, in some other places, were brought upon it, where decorum and regularity were not maintained. In the mean time,

\* Vol. i., p. 422-424.

he took great care of, and treated with remarkable tenderness, those who professed faith in Christ, and who were so suddenly and powerfully brought out of darkness into light. He well knew that these new-born souls required much nursing; that, however lively or happy they might appear to be for the present, yet they were in general exceedingly ignorant and quite unestablished; and, therefore, he not only took abundance of pains with them himself, but he also was careful to appoint them to meet with those leaders who, he knew, would carefully and tenderly instruct them. Accordingly, many of this description were preserved, and continue steady at this day, who, in all probability, if those means had not been used, would have soon turned back into the world again."

Benson describes a visit to him on his death-bed in the year 1800. "He then expressed himself in the most clear, pertinent, and feeling manner concerning our redemption by Christ, and of his whole dependence being on this alone." "After this he spoke concerning the Methodist connection in a way which showed how much his soul was wrapped up in the prosperity of it, and gave us many cautions and advices, urging us especially to attend at the Conference to the state of the poor preachers, many of whom, he said, he knew to be in great want and distress." One of the last of his "heavenly breathings" was this: "O Jesus, whom I have loved, whom I do love, in whom I delight, I surrender myself unto Thee."

Of WILLIAM THOMPSON, the first president of the Conference after the death of Wesley, fewer traces are to be found than of any of his eminent contemporaries. For forty years an itinerant preacher, he gained a constantly increasing influence in the connection, and especially over his brethren in the ministry. He was born in the North of Ireland in 1733; brought up, I believe, a Presbyterian; and, during the earlier part of his public career, was frequently resident in Scotland. Like other young Methodist preachers who enjoyed that advantage, he acquired, by a close observation of the position, attainments, and habits of the national clergy, both principles and feelings, which elevated the tone of his mind and added to his means of usefulness. From his training when a boy, or from the experience of his after-life, he received impressions in favor of the Presbyterian polity which were not forgotten by him in the settlement of the constitution of Methodism. In the discus-



sions of the Conference he distinguished himself as a clear and ready speaker, and his counsels were well-timed, wise, and moderate. He died at Birmingham in 1799. My father used to speak of the old man's gravity of speech, spirit, and demeanor, and of the advantages he himself had derived from his example and ministry.

THOMAS RUTHERFORD, born in Northumberland in 1752, whose father was a native of Scotland, was also brought up after the godly fashion of pious Presbyterians; got by heart, when a child, Willison's Prayers for Children; was wonderfully impressed at a sacrament; and longed, above all things, to be a minister. He too learned, when resident in the land of the Covenant and of the parish school, how to read and to think; and, on the testimony of his friend and brother-in-law, Henry Moore, his abilities were very considerable, and his manner of preaching peculiarly energetic and affecting.

JOHN BARBER, another fruit of Derbyshire Methodism, was a wild, untaught, untoward youth, but gave early tokens of noble frankness, manly independence, and fearless decision of character. Mr. Greaves, a Methodist, went to Hope Fair for the purpose of hiring a man-servant. Few were present that day; and, after waiting long, he hired John Barber, as the best man he could find. He had scarcely engaged him, however, when a friend told him that the lad was an inveterate swearer. He went back, and extorted a promise, sacredly kept, that his new servant would never swear again. Barber was converted; learned to weave, that he might have his time more at his own disposal; studied hard; and, in the long run, became an itinerant preacher. He was twice elected president of the Conference, and died while sustaining that office in the year 1816. In the pulpit he was plain, forcible, and exceedingly apt in the quotation of Scripture. I do not gather that his manners ever received a very high polish; but his sense and sincerity overcame all defects of this kind, and perhaps few men ever left behind them a deeper impression of true and tender kindness of heart. When quite a child, I was astonished to see my father weep over the letter which announced the death of his old pastor and friend. He followed him to his grave at Portland Chapel, Bristol, preached his funeral sermon, and acted as one of his executors.



Under the teaching and influence of men such as I have thus very imperfectly described, the youth, Jabez Bunting, grew rapidly in personal piety, in the clear apprehension and conviction of the Christian faith, and in a firm attachment to the doctrines and discipline of Methodism. His father's house was but a few yards distant from that occupied, from time to time, by the superintendent preachers of the circuit; they took kindly to him, and foresaw his future greatness; and he went in and out of their dwelling almost at his pleasure. It was his grateful companionship with them which begat in him a reverence for age, never lost. Even when he himself had grown into an old man, it was pleasant to see how he insisted upon a proper deference being paid to ministers like Sutcliffe, Reece, James Wood, Entwisle, Gaulter, Edmondson, Morley, and Marsden—fathers who may be fairly considered as his own contemporaries, but in whose forms and faces he traced the well-remembered images of the guides of his youth.

These notices of Jabez Bunting's early training would be very incomplete if another class of circumstances were not recorded. He was twelve years old when Wesley died. Then burst forth the storm to which I have already alluded, and the mutterings of which had disturbed the peace, though they had never shaken the confidence of the great founder of Methodism. My father watched it with growing intelligence until it had spent its fury. Of an eager disposition, and naturally apt at the solution of questions of practical difficulty, he noted every phase and change of the controversies of that period as they rose; he acquired a thorough insight into their nature and meaning; he became familiar with their essential principles; and he laid up a store of facts, precedents, and opinions which were of great and lasting service to him during the whole of his subsequent course.\*

\* Yet he did not always use the materials he possessed. A notable example of this, perhaps arising from a failure of memory, very unusual with him, occurred in reference to the dispute as to the visitatorial powers exercised in cases of emergency by ministers specially assembled in District Committee. From 1827, when such a visitation was held in Leeds, down to the time of my father's retirement from public life, no subject excited so much connectional strife and agitation. It was deemed very important on all sides to ascertain how the promoters of the settlement of 1795 themselves understood and administered the system as thereby regulated. My father

Benson, Mather, and Thompson, the three master spirits of the time—I am speaking of their influence upon the ecclesiastical politics of the connection—were successively superintendents of the Manchester Circuit during the period commencing with the year 1791, and ending with the year 1799. The great preacher, indeed, almost became a martyr for the firm but healing counsels which he, with his two brethren, consistently advocated during the continuance of the earlier dissensions. A tribunal to which no courtesy can attribute either legitimacy or wisdom, even though Coke, Bradburn, and Moore sat upon it, pronounced that he had separated himself from the Methodist connection. Mather, too, was abundantly abused; nor did Thompson escape annoyances, which must have deeply grieved his gentle spirit. And Manchester was a great seat and centre of strife. I can not doubt that these circumstances fixed the young man's eye with earnest intensity upon the events to which I am now adverting. His sense of justice, his devotion to his own spiritual guides, and his natural clearness of perception, and consequent appreciation of the right and of the wrong on either side, would all stimulate, and from time to time increase, the interest he took in public affairs.

It was during Benson's superintendency that the sacramental controversy began, and during that of Thompson the contest which took its name from Alexander Kilham ended. Mather administered the circuit during the last and worst period of the former strife, and staid long enough to encounter the commencement of the latter.

No wise man nowadays reads the copious literature which then deluged the connection unless he have some important practical end in view, and be gifted with inexhaustible patience; and hence, I think, it has arisen that the Methodists of these times are, to some extent, ignorant of the obligations they owe to the three great men whose names I have thus grouped together. I had in his possession, but I believe he never quoted, the minutes of a meeting of a District Committee held in Manchester in 1796. They were printed for general circulation, and a copy of them will be found in the Appendix. (See Appendix G.) Unless Holy Scripture have established, for all times, places, and circumstances, a uniform platform of church government (and Methodists do not profess to rest their ecclesiastical policy upon any *jus divinum*), I do not see how the general reasoning of this document can be refuted.

gether. They undoubtedly settled the dispute about the sacraments, and so prevented a ruinous catastrophe. Benson claved strongly, in his individual preferences, to the original plan of a society within a Church. Thompson, on the other hand, saw clearly, and, I conjecture, did not regret, that successive departures from that plan had already forced the connection into a position of practical independence. Mather, sympathizing with Benson's wishes, had arrived slowly at Thompson's conclusions. Other men of the day, of great talent and influence, either caught hastily at the easy idea of a separation, popular with the masses of the people, or vacillated between opposite principles. But the three, after years of contest, and after consulting all interests and opinions, reconciled contending parties, and framed the outlines of a system true both to the essential spirit and to the imperative demands of Methodism. Let due honor attend the memory of all the leading actors in those stirring events, but let the three "elders" who "ruled" so "well be counted worthy of double" reverence. More than others, and often in bold resistance to hosts of powerful opponents, they, by their comprehension of the genius of the system—their deep sense of the importance of the trust confided to them by Wesley—their pastoral yearnings after the flock as a whole,\* however divided in interest and feeling—their foresight, judgment, and temper—preserved and even compacted the great "Work of God," still "called Methodism."

\* What if their efforts had failed, and the party strongly opposed to separation from the Church of England had been alienated from the connection! The list of the names of its principal leaders, when read in the light of the subsequent history of the body, is well worth study. Among them are those of Matthew Mayer, William Marsden, Daniel Burton, John Marsden, James Heald, William Carvosso, Lawrence Frost, Peter Kaye, Michael Ashton, John Hallam, George Urling, John Collinson, Hervey Walklate Mortimer, Thomas Thompson, Thomas Holy, Henry Longden, Roger Crane, and William Carne. And if, as I believe, the name of Henry Martyn's father appears in the same list, what occasion might we have lost of making our "boast in God" that the pattern missionary was trained a Methodist! Thomas Thompson became a member of the Legislature, and, under Wilberforce's banner, fought many a hard battle for truth and liberty. His son, General T. Perronet Thompson, is best known by his vigorous writings, and sustains the somewhat rare reputation of being so thoroughly a Liberal as to stand steadily on the watch against the political machinations of modern Popery. I can not claim him as belonging to our community.

The "Plan of Pacification," enacted in 1795, launched Methodism as a Church; but the ship rode the waters, not for war, but for commerce; and, if the flag of the Anglican Establishment floated no longer at her mast-head, no rival or unfriendly standard was hoisted in its place. But there arose another contest, the necessary result of the former, and which was to decide the places and pretensions of the crew that manned the vessel. The former controversy "called a new world into existence," and so, in some measure, "redressed the balance of the old," while the other merely mapped a kingdom into counties. The first was the religious event of the age; the second concerned the Church catholic only as it presented the novel spectacle of a polity framed neither upon any exact and exclusive precedents, nor even upon any very carefully defined principles, but merely intended for use. The difficulties, too, of the latter period were few and small as compared with those which had preceded them. The strength of the connection—its piety, intelligence, and general influence—was nearly all on one side, and a short strife was ended by the secession of a scanty minority.

Yet the second controversy involved questions of great importance, and was conducted under circumstances of considerable disadvantage to all parties interested in the result.

To affirm that Wesley left behind him a Church without a clergy would only be to allege an incontrovertible fact, namely, that in his just and prudent anxiety to avoid, at least during his own lifetime, the separation of his societies from the Church of England, he had trusted to some providential arrangement for the necessities which his death would reveal rather than create. He had, indeed, by his own ordination of a few trusted disciples, done something to meet the foreseen difficulties of a state of transition. But that fact only occasioned another anomaly, since it introduced among his preachers a disparity of rank, with a marked difference of functions, which, though inevitable, was sure to peril their union. We have seen that these troubles were at length settled; but they had been settled by a compromise. The struggle had lain between two parties—those preachers who were opposed to farther separation, and, allied with them, large bodies of the trustees of chapels on the one hand, and preachers of much talent and useful-



ness, and a great number of the people, impatient for absolute independence, on the other. The former class held strictly to Wesley's long and latest declaration, that his preachers were mere laymen, incompetent to assume the ministerial office; while the separatists either took the low ground of denying that the mere dispensation of the sacraments implied any such assumption—a notion never very seriously maintained—or stood boldly upon the broad facts of their position, and claimed the rights which it involved. When the dispute was accommodated, it was arranged for peace' sake; and neither did the adherents of the old plan admit, nor did the party which enjoyed the substantial fruits of victory care to contend, that the preachers were or might be ministers. That question was regarded, if regarded at all, as purely theoretical, and it was hoped that time would settle it. But the regulation which forbade the use of the term "reverend" was preserved, as was also the somewhat ambiguous declaration that "the distinction between ordained and unordained preachers shall be dropped." The settlement of 1795, therefore, when that of 1798 came on, by no means favored any very formidable pretensions on the part of the ministers of the body. Nor did the people occupy a position better calculated to secure their interests. If the ministers were but newly recognized as such, the people became, as by a stroke of the pen, members, not of a society, but of a Church. Not one in a hundred knew that there had been a Revolution. They had got the sacraments, and that was all they wanted. And it would almost appear that, when the lay office-bearers—the only class of the laity which took any manifest concern in the matter—argued questions affecting popular privileges, they took it for granted that those privileges would be safer in their hands than in those of the people themselves and of their ministers. It is well that the Conference formed an opposite opinion.

Under the pressure of difficulties such as these a Constitution was framed, which, for more than sixty years, has attracted the steady and loyal attachment of the Methodist people. Our differences during that period have been settled, time after time, by a reference to the regulations enacted in 1795 and 1797. Those who have thought that the spirit and essence of them have been preserved, have remained in communion with



the body; those who have thought the contrary, have left it; and all have thus united in testifying to the wisdom and moderation of the men to whom we owe them.

I have referred to these events and discussions not only as accounting for my father's early and able interference in the management of connectional affairs, but as furnishing some clue to the formation of his opinions respecting them. He studied the requirements and aptitudes of Methodism at a time when its struggling and imperiled condition elicited the deepest solicitude of all who loved it, and he studied under its best masters. More than this: at that time nothing but its spirit saved it; and he drank deeply of that spirit. The anxious, life-long concern of those who "naturally" cared for its "state"—of those who owed "even their own souls" to its founder, and who had undergone every kind of hardship and of suffering for its sake, possessed and pervaded every faculty of his soul. He knew, better than most, the true place and right value of a godly ecclesiastical order, and no man ever, in his presence, touched the ark of the Methodist Constitution without his strict scrutiny and his almost involuntary suspicion. But for the machinery of Methodism, simply as such; for bustling legislation and petty economies; for "strifes of words" and "vain jangling" about conformity to this or to that more ancient institute; for the rigidly logical proprieties of things; and for dry precedents and abstract points in general, my father never troubled himself, "no, not for an hour."

He carefully collected, while the controversies lasted, the tracts and pamphlets which bore upon them. One printed letter, circulated in 1796 by certain local preachers, trustees, leaders, etc., "to their brethren in the Stockport Circuit," lies before me. It contains pertinent quotations from the writings of Dr. Robertson and of Alexander Kilham, and complains of "the secret distribution of money;" of the people being governed by the preachers; then, again, of the people being governed by the trustees; of Wesley's Deed-Poll; of lawyers (*e. g.*, "God forbid we should gain information by going to law before unbelievers!"); and of divers other things, which, "if real"—but they seem to have doubted it—were clearly dreadful "evils;" and winds up in that form of interrogative argument which only a practiced hand should venture to employ.

Seven questions are asked. "Is it right that every society should choose its own leaders and stewards?" that is, of course, without the assistance of the minister. My father has written "No;" and he has recorded a similar answer to a question which he seems to have understood, but I do not. The remaining queries have fairly puzzled him. He has left them unanswered.

Such was young Jabez Bunting's training for the faithful service which he rendered to the Church during nearly sixty years. He was Methodism's own loving and grateful child. Young, and therefore quickly and easily impressed, he enjoyed the preaching, the pastoral attentions, and the intimate society of some of its best and ablest ministers, and that during a period of its history when the resources of their wisdom and piety were most demanded, and were put into the best and most active exercise. His opinions and sympathies were thus formed and fostered in circumstances favorable to early maturity. His education had been various and systematic, and well-calculated, on the whole, to prepare him for the extensive sphere of duty he was so soon to fill. He had seen much of the Church, and, for his years, a good deal of the world. And his opportunities and advantages had been diligently cultivated and improved with a lively feeling of obligation to Him who had given them, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities which they involved. I quit the subject—many of its details novel to myself—with regret, as one leaves a gallery where hangs the portrait of a comely, happy youth fast rising into manhood; a face that, though you did not know it, strangely set your heart a beating; but—the thought flashed upon you all at once—it was your dear and kindly father; the same who sat but lately in his easy-chair by the warm fireside, bending in the benignant beauty of age; looking thoughtfully at you; and—the old saint growing every day more like the Holy Child Jesus—"both hearing" and asking "questions."

## CHAPTER VII.

## CALL TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

A Local Preacher.—His Doubts and Decision.—First Sermon.—Trial Sermon.—Exercises as to his Call to the Ministry.—Correspondence with Mr. Mather.—Letter announcing his Intention to Dr. Percival.—Received on Trial at the Conference of 1799.

I HAVE already related how, early in 1798, my father gave an exhortation to an out-door congregation at James Ashcroft's house in Salford. No doubt he had used the same gift at the prayer-meetings which I have also described. But now something more formal was expected from him, and his friends urged him to try to preach. They would look forward to his becoming an itinerant preacher; but he took one step only at a time; and all that he seems to have resolved upon, when a young man, nineteen years of age, was to employ himself as a lay, or, as the Methodists call it, a "local preacher;" still pursuing the study, with a view to the practice, of his profession. Had this intention been fulfilled, he would have become one of the very few physicians who have engaged in the double duty of curing the bodies and the souls of men.

But he embarked in this subordinate sphere of usefulness after long consideration and much prayer, and in a truly humble frame of mind. On a slip of paper I find the following memorandum:

*"Pro.*

"1. The want of laborers, specially such as are tolerably intelligent and well-informed persons.

"2. The general duty of using every talent that God has imparted; remembering that 'the supply of the means is the requisition of the duty.'

"3. The deep-rooted and long-continued conviction that I am called to this work.

"4. The opinion of those Christian friends whom I have consulted, and that of others who appear to expect it from me.

*“ Contra.*

- “ 1. My own deficiency in point of knowledge.
- “ 2. My want of time for religious study.
- “ 3. My youth and inexperience.
- “ 4. My unfaithfulness to God’s grace, and my littleness of faith and love.
- “ 5. My rare opportunities of exercising.

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“ Lord, teach me what Thou wouldst have me to do !

*“ August, 1798.”*

Probably most persons who read and balance these reasons for and against his beginning to preach at so early an age will, on the whole, concur in his decision. He had been, for nearly four years, a steady Christian, and had, as we have seen, been placed in a position where continual converse with judicious and able ministers made him familiar with preaching as an exercise. He must have discovered, too, by this time, as clearly as he ever did, that he had the gifts which, if diligently cultivated, would, by God’s blessing, make him a successful preacher. Above all, there lay, “deep-rooted” in his heart, the conviction that he was called to this work. He did not, indeed, know the full import of the call he had received. He was “inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon” him the sacred “office to serve God, for the promoting of His glory and the edifying of his people.” But, as yet, the Divine monition impressed him only with the general duty of using every talent that “God has imparted.” Afterward, and as he faithfully fulfilled this duty, he came to learn that the summons contained a deeper meaning.

The precedent supplied by his case, however, will not, I presume, be quoted in favor of employing in the serious business of the pulpit raw and inexperienced converts, *not* “intelligent and well-informed,” and especially where there is no “want of laborers.” Wesley never said a wiser thing than when he told Mather, who, so soon as he knew the truth, wished to preach it, “This is a common temptation to young men.” To those deeply solicitous that Methodism should still wield with vigor and effect the ancient powers of a preached Gospel, the question often presents itself whether our familiarity with that bless-

ed ordinance never renders us careless as to the character and qualifications of those who are permitted to engage in it. Economically, we are dependent, to an immense extent, upon the services of local preachers; and I speak, not of the stars and prodigies among that admirable class of men, but of its bulk and body, and more especially of those who, in wide-spread circuits, and sometimes throughout half a county, emulate, at least in zeal, self-sacrifice, and diligence, the labors of the regular ministry, when I record my father's cordial appreciation of the cheerfulness, ability, fidelity, and success with which those labors are discharged. But, surely, our dependence upon this great and necessary system should induce us to maintain, improve, and guard it. Are "babes in Christ" never employed in tasks beyond their strength, and those whose nutrition should be the first care of the Church set to play at nurturing others? Not that they are to be without suitable and sufficient exercise; but "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings" is chiefly "perfected" "praise"—the fresh and glowing testimony which tells of the continued presence of Christ in His Church. As the powers of action gradually develop and mature, there are quiet occupations, such as old Methodists were content to spend their lives upon—the cottage; the sick-bed; the work-house; the infirmary; the prison; and the prayer-meeting, with its unpretentious word of warning; and there is also the Sunday-school—this, however, never to be entered without serious thought, or in any spirit but that of an earnest evangelism. True, the anxious pastor must seek out recruits for the pulpit as for other departments of service, and, in particular, is tremblingly alive to the responsibility of "committing to others also" the weighty charge which he himself sustains. But fit candidates for the pulpit will present themselves so long only as it shall continue undegraded by the vanity, incompetency, or doubtful piety of existing occupants; and as for the holy ministry, random guesses, and an easy carelessness in the choice of those who are to fill it, would be the most certain symptoms of present declension and decay. Let us learn to think of the three or four thousand congregations who every Sabbath-day receive the very bread of life, or worse than nothing, from the hands of our local preachers, if with a lively gratitude to God, and to the men to whom He has given the heart thus to serve Him, yet with



the solicitude which they themselves are, in many cases, the first to feel, as to the preservation and improvement of this vast agency of usefulness. If official vigilance should ever fail, and the crowds of hungry souls dependent upon Methodism for the supply of their spiritual wants should be left unfed; worse still, if we should ever come to give them stones for bread, or for fish serpents, the burden of our ineffectual repentance will be like his of old, "These sheep, what have they done?"

My father has left behind him a number of little books, containing, "from the first day" until an advanced period of his ministry, lists of the texts of his sermons, of the places where he preached, and, in the earlier portion of the series, of the names of various persons present. I conjecture that these names were recorded as being those of strangers, before whom he was desirous not to preach again what was substantially the same sermon. But he was cautious as to this particular so long only as his preparations for the pulpit were, in his judgment, few and very incomplete. In the zenith of his power as a preacher he cast all such cautions to the wind; and, while scrupulously avoiding repetitions, often eagerly desired, to the same congregation, he chose, at the time, that very topic of discourse which seemed to him best suited to the season or occasion. When the cares of office pressed upon him, he took a still wider latitude, and worked rather with tools ready for his use, and of easy and familiar handling, than with those made in the hurry, which, as to all things pertaining to the pulpit, his very soul hated.

His first sermon was preached on the twelfth of August, 1798, in a small cottage at a place called Sodom, on the road from Manchester to Blackley. The text was the latter part of the first verse in the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel: "Ye believe in God, believe also in Me." His friends, James Wood, John Heywood, James Morris, and William Albiston, were present. The yellow, tattered manuscript of his preparations for this occasion is still extant. I believe it furnishes indications of his mature style and power in the pulpit, and possibly it may appear among the number of his published discourses. Mr. Wood, who watched his pulpit career with a fond pride and interest for more than fifty years, always said that the first essay in the cottage was never excelled, either as

to its matter, manner, or manifest effect. But it is suggested by Mr. Jackson\* that "this opinion was hastily formed, and most probably arose from the feeling of surprise and thankfulness experienced on hearing his first pulpit effort, for no uninspired man ever attained to true eminence in preaching but by a course of hard study and persevering prayer. No mere youth, let his powers of mind and elocution be what they may, ever exercised a ministry like that of Jabez Bunting in the maturity of his manhood." The experienced divine and preacher speaks in the tone of kindly check and warning. I venture to give a word of respectful encouragement to a class he had not in his eye. How many cases have we all known of young men whose natural endowments to themselves, as to others, seemed very few, but whose deep sense of duty, intense studiousness, increasing acquisitions, and humble waiting upon God for His succeeding blessing, have placed them, comparatively soon, in the first ranks of the ministry! These pages will fail miserably of their object if they do not, at least in this respect, sustain the impression produced by Mr. Jackson's weighty sayings, and show that my father's early popularity and influence were due, not so much to his rare talents as to his careful cultivation of them. And thus those in every position to whom "much," and those to whom "little is given"—all, indeed, except the men who, having little, think it so much that they do not care to make the most of it, may learn a profitable lesson.

It is certain that my father's preaching attracted immediate and general attention, although, as a local preacher, he only filled the pulpit twenty-nine times, and that with but fourteen sermons in his desk. He officiated chiefly in small preaching-rooms either in Manchester or in the adjacent villages. His twenty-third time of preaching was at the "Calvinist" Chapel in Macclesfield, and the twenty-fifth to the twenty-ninth, inclusive, at Monyash and other places in the Peak. I hope his mother went with him.

So early as 1784, John Pawson, then stationed in Manchester, discerned that "some of the people were in great danger of running into wildness." If the peril had ever quite passed

\* "The Character and Dismission of the Prophet Daniel: a Sermon occasioned by the Death of the late Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D., etc., etc. London: John Mason."

away, which is doubtful, it had revived at the period of my father's entrance upon his course as a preacher. Francis Mar-  
ris, then a young man from Hull, and afterward a pattern, dur-  
ing a long life, of sober godliness, had, shortly before this time,  
been the means of introducing the sense and practice of piety  
into the household of his employer, Mr. Broadhurst, an exten-  
sive draper. His master and mistress, and a whole host of  
young men in their service, went, at his suggestion, to hear  
Benson preach, and were converted. But they were more  
zealous than wise, and gathered round them a number of good  
but ignorant persons, who pursued the most unlikely means  
for promoting serious religion, whether in their own or in  
other hearts. The chief resort of these people was to a room  
called "The Band-room," built by the liberality of Broadhurst,  
where, with less likelihood of official oversight and check than  
in the chapels, they pursued their own courses of action. The  
good sense, however, of successive superintendents, who knew  
that, whatever else was done there, some sound preaching  
could not do any harm, supplied them with that ordinance ac-  
cordingly. In this room my father preached the "trial-ser-  
mon" which the usage of the body requires before the candi-  
date is accredited as a local preacher. An excellent friend,\*  
who was present on this occasion, has related to me the curious  
scene which he then witnessed. In the pulpit stood a very  
slim, timid-looking boy, who gave out the preparatory hymn  
in peace. Then Sister Broadhurst and Brother Dowley insist-  
ed upon praying, and were both gratified. But when a broth-  
er, of name unknown, sought to exercise in prayer for the third  
time, the wrath of honest John Burkenhead, afterward a mis-  
sionary for two years in the West Indies, was kindled, and he  
shouted out, "It's time for the young man to begin." So the  
service proceeded without farther interruption. In a very few  
years these irregularities were stopped, and partly by my fa-  
ther's own counsels and exertions.

I shall gratify the curiosity of some by naming the texts of  
the fourteen sermons which formed his entire stock during the  
eleven months of his employment as a local preacher. Besides  
the first, already given, are, Numbers, xxiii., 10; Luke, ii., 10,  
11; Luke, ii., 14; Isaiah, lv., 6; Titus, ii., 11, 13; Luke, xii.,

\* Robert Henson, Esq., of Manchester

32; Matthew, xi., 28; Romans, vi., 17; Numbers, x., 29; 1 Timothy, iii., 16; Luke, xxiv., 34; Philippians, iv., 19; and Jude 20, 21. I gather from these that the matter of his preaching was chiefly consolatory and hortatory; but that he already aimed at that exhibition of exact and luminous theology, combined with what should be practically and immediately effective, which so remarkably distinguished his subsequent ministry.

His name appears on two "Plans," preserved by himself, of the Manchester Circuit during the period between February and August, 1799. On the first it stands last but one on the list of preachers. Above it are those of Holland Hoole, the father of Dr. Hoole—the latter for nearly twenty years Dr. Bunting's able and faithful colleague in office, and his assiduous and welcome friend and visitor "in the time of old age" and in his dying moments—and of some of his associates in the society I have described in the fifth chapter—John Heywood, George Burton, William Bennett, James Wood, and Solomon Ashton. Mr. Thompson and Mr. Barber sign certificates on the two documents successively: "The bearer hereof, Jabez Bunting, is an approved local preacher here, and may be employed as such wherever he comes."

At the Quarter Sessions held at Salford on the 10th of April, 1799, he "came before the justices present," and took the oaths and declaration which entitled him to the protection of the law "as a Dissenting minister;"\* a formality which afterward stood him in good stead in time of peril.

\* Then, as now, the law did not permit him to take them as a Methodist minister. It sanctioned, as Lord Mansfield held, his public teaching, inasmuch as, on condition of his taking the oaths, it insured to him certain exemptions from the ordinary duties of citizenship. But it compelled him to take them as a Dissenting minister; not caring—(*de minimis non curat lex!*)—to recognize the distinction between a man always ready to avow his conscientious hostility to the national establishment, and one, not unfriendly to it, willing, for the sake of doing good, to admit the simple fact of un-conformity. As though Lord Clyde, in quieting the provinces of India, should insist upon each rebel's declared hate of British rule as the price of amnesty! A question occurs to me, in connection with these remarks, which I do not know how to answer. Since Nonconformists generally accept from the state for their ministers certain privileges as and because they profess themselves to be Dissenting ministers, why should those who object to Church-rates refuse exemption from a tax, if exemption be offered upon



New light dawned upon him, and he was willing patiently to ponder "the path of" his "feet." A fragment only remains of a paper written when he had made a partial experiment of his new vocation.

"I. To the first question"—its nature may be easily inferred—"I think I may reply in the affirmative. On a serious consideration of this question in August last, notwithstanding a deep sense of my deficiency in point of religious knowledge, of my want of time for theological study, and of my youth, inexperience, unfaithfulness to God's grace, and littleness of faith and love—notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, I was induced to engage in the work by considering the want of laborers; the general duty of using every talent; the presumption that arises, from the education and other means of information with which Providence has favored me, of my being, in some degree, not unqualified for the work; the deep-rooted and long conviction of my mind that I ought to preach; and, lastly, the opinion of those friends whom I have consulted on the subject, and of others, who all seem to approve of the attempt. Since that period I have spoken in public six times, and, though still very sensible of my insufficiency, am confirmed by experience in my former decision, viz., that I am called of God to preach. My own soul has sometimes been blessed in the employment, and, I have reason to think, the souls also of them who heard me. My friends are unanimous in advising me to proceed, and seem satisfied as to my call; and the conviction of my own conscience that it is my duty is stronger than ever.

"II. But, this question being decided, another equally perplexing and important arises, viz., Shall I officiate only occasionally as a local preacher, or shall I devote my life entirely to the service of God and His Church, by resolving to abandon

similar terms? And this question reminds me of another. If we are to have an act of Parliament enabling a majority of rate-payers in any parish to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks within that parish, why should not a like majority preserve the right to lay a Church-rate? The principle contended for is the *will* of the majority; and I suppose the friends of the Maine-law movement would be as much vexed if the majority refused to shut up a dram-shop as the supporters of Church-rates now feel when the majority stops the parish clock or silences the Sabbath music of church-bells.



the study of medicine, and to engage, at some future period, as a traveling preacher?

“For the negative it may be urged—” But here the paper ends.

Another memorandum, more complete, deals with this “perplexing and important” matter:

“1. The work is unspeakably important, and requires great talents, cultivated by great application, and by more diligent theological study than I have been able to pursue. I am, therefore, exceedingly ill qualified for an employment which demands such extent of knowledge.

“2. My small proficiency in the Divine life is another most weighty objection against my indulging the idea of any such change in my destination.

“3. My constitution of body is by no means strong, and is ill fitted to bear the fatigues and inconveniences of an itinerant life.

“4. My education and studies have been for some time regulated by the idea of my being destined to practice physic, and if I now abandon that idea I shall lose the fruits of much labor; I shall have put my friends to much useless expense; whereas, by pursuing my present plan, with advantages and prospects of success such as I possess, I may hope to have it in my power to show my gratitude to an aged mother, and my affection to my young sisters, by rendering them that support and assistance for which they have a just claim upon me.

“For the affirmative I should consider,

“1. The want of laborers.

“2. The duty of being as extensively useful as possible in the vineyard of my Lord.

“3. The deep-rooted and long-continued conviction of my mind that a dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me, and that ‘woe is me’ if I do not spend my life in preaching the Gospel.

“The opinion of all friends whom I have consulted, and of more of whose opinions I have heard, and especially the advice of those who know from experience what the situation of a Methodist preacher is, namely, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Barker,\* and Mr. Marsden.

\* The late Rev. Jonathan Barker, then stationed in the Manchester Circuit.  
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"After seriously weighing these considerations, I am clear that, notwithstanding my unfaithfulness and insufficiency, I shall be more useful, more holy, and more happy in the situation of a Methodist preacher than in any other, and that, therefore, I ought to look forward to it.

"Here my mind for some time rested; but on the 11th of November, 1798, Mr. Barker advised me seriously to consider whether it would not be better to bring the matter to an issue at once, and to go out as an itinerant at the Conference of 1799. In December, 1798, or January, 1799, Mr. Thompson, our superintendent, strongly urged me to the same purpose.\* I am now, therefore, involved in as much anxiety as ever to know whether I ought to wait until August, 1800, or to comply with the offer made by Mr. Thompson of going out in 1799.

"For the former plan is urged,

"1. That I am but a *young man*, and should not have completed my twenty-first year in August, 1799, and therefore could not, perhaps, be received with sufficient respect; and,

"2. I am yet but a *young preacher*, and have had but very little practice in the work. I should, therefore, find it very difficult to face large and numerous congregations, to which I had never before been accustomed.

"3. My stock of skeletons† is yet so small that I should find it difficult, if not impossible, to avoid sameness and repetition when I had to preach to the same congregation several times in a week.

"4. I am as yet unaccustomed to preaching more than twice a day in or near Manchester. How, then, would my health bear the fatigue of preaching three or four times, added to that of traveling perhaps many miles?

"On the other hand it may be observed,

"If I stay another year in my present situation (as I must, if I stay at all), the difficulties above mentioned will be very cuit, a man who abandoned prospects of affluence, and worked long and steadily as an itinerant preacher.

\* It was one of the last services he rendered to the Church. He left the circuit during the following month of April, and died in May.

† I hope the young medical student's use of this term will not be mistaken by any innocent reader, who may casually open the volume at this page.

little removed. My opportunities of exercising are so limited that, if practice be essential to any improvement, I must go somewhere else to attain it." But here, again, the MS. breaks off.

Mr. Mather was consulted, and in a letter, addressed in February, 1799, "to Mr. George Marsden, Methodist Chapel in Macclesfield," evidently remembering how "common" a "temptation" it was "for young men to wish to preach," writes warily as follows:

"N.B.—The case of Mr. Bunting requires much consideration, as his all depends upon it. It seems almost for eternity and time. Much, therefore, depends upon the clear conviction of his own mind. If this can not be at rest unless he devotes himself to the work of God, and he is at liberty to abandon all worldly hopes of ever becoming acquainted with a profession\* that will be gentle bread at some not very distant period, the matter is ended. He alone should judge and determine in this case, as he only is likely to feel the good or bad effects in this point of view. There can be little doubt of his being received into the work on trial, as you and others would recommend him. I would, therefore, request that he should lay the matter before the Lord, and ask his friends to do the same in earnest prayer, until the will of the Lord should be known."

My father himself then addressed Mr. Mather:

"DEAR AND HONORED SIR,—My friend, Mr. George Marsden, sent me, some time ago, an extract of a letter from you. It appears that he had written to you concerning my going out next Conference as a traveling preacher. Accept my best thanks for the consideration you have bestowed on my case, and for the advice you have so kindly given me on this, to me, most important subject. I now think it my duty to lay the whole matter before you, and hope your goodness will excuse this intrusion upon your time and attention.

"Ever since my conversion to God in the year 1794, and, indeed, for a much longer period, I have been strongly impressed with an idea that I should be called to the work of

\* Mr. Mather brought up his own son to it, of which bold action, on the part of a poor Methodist preacher, Mr. Pawson, sixty years ago, thought it necessary to render an explanation and a defense.

the ministry. This impression continued to follow me with such increasing force that, after much prayer and consideration, and after taking the opinion of my Christian friends, I thought it my duty to make the attempt, which I did, with much fear and trembling, in August last. The conviction that I am called to preach has ever since been more and more clear; and, encouraged by the unanimous opinion of my friends, and especially by the advice of Mr. Thompson, Brother Heywood, and others of our local preachers, I have exercised my little talent as often as opportunity has occurred; not, however, without frequently feeling such fears and anxieties, and such a consciousness of my inability, that nothing but a sense of duty could have induced me to persist.

“It was in November last that Mr. Barker first proposed to me to go out as a traveling preacher at Conference. This proposal Mr. Thompson soon afterward repeated, and strongly advised me to comply, as did also Mr. Barber, Mr. Marsden, and other friends. I have seriously weighed the subject, and have made it a matter of earnest and continual prayer from that time to this. On the one hand, I consider my youth (being now only about twenty), the little progress I have made in the ways of God, my unfaithfulness to Divine grace, my inexperience and want of practice in preaching, and the unspeakable importance of the work; and these reflections almost deter me from entertaining the idea. On the other hand, I consider the danger of shrinking from what, after all, I can not help thinking to be my duty, and of refusing to comply with what seems to all my friends to be the call of Providence. On the whole, therefore (though with much fear of running before I am sent), recollecting the promises of Divine support and assistance, and that my sufficiency must be in God, I think the conviction of my mind is clear that I ought to comply with the proposal; that I can never be at rest unless I devote myself wholly to the work of God; and that the life of a Methodist preacher, all circumstances considered, is that in which I shall be most holy, happy, and useful.

“From one of the considerations above mentioned, viz., my inexperience and want of practice in preaching, I have often thought it would be better to stay another year, and to go out in August, 1800, at which time, with the blessing of God, I



might be more fit for taking a circuit. Such a determination, indeed, I had almost made in my own mind; but I could not rest while I thought of adhering to this resolution; and, upon reconsidering the matter with my friends, I think I have seen reason to alter it. You are aware that I now live in the house of Dr. Percival, of Manchester. The last time I spoke to him on the subject, the plan he recommended me was this: that I should stay with him till midsummer, 1799; that I should then prosecute my medical studies for a year in London or Edinburgh; and, in the year 1800, return and settle in Manchester. Now, sir, to spend a year from June, 1799, in finishing my medical education, with the fixed intention of abandoning medicine forever in August, 1800, would be a most unjustifiable waste both of time and of money, to which my conscience, and my duty to a widowed mother and two sisters, would hardly allow me to consent; and, even if Dr. Percival, whose kindness to me is almost paternal, were willing to alter his plan—for we never entered into any absolute agreement, either written or verbal—and would permit me to stay with him in Manchester another year, it would still be a waste of time; for I am here so unavoidably confined, and so much debarred from opportunities of exercising, being obliged to attend the doctor as an amanuensis almost as much on Sundays as on other days, that I should not have much more *practical knowledge* of preaching a year hence than I have now. At least, I might improve myself more in three months, were I in a circuit, than I could in twelve while I remain here.

“As to abandoning my hopes of medical success, though not one young man in ten, perhaps, has so flattering prospects in that way as myself, I can, blessed be God, freely and cheerfully give them up, if He calls for the sacrifice. Gold is dust compared to souls; and if, through merey, I may be happily instrumental in bringing souls to God, I trust I am content to forego all worldly advantages, and to suffer for Him, by His grace, the loss of all things.

“From the above statement, you will perceive, sir, the delicacy of my situation with respect to Dr. Percival. I do not see how I can, with propriety, inform him of my resolution to leave his family, unless I have as much certainty as the nature of the case will admit of my being received and appointed to



a circuit at the next Conference. Another difficulty arises also with respect to my dear mother and sisters, to whom (my father being dead, and I his only son) my occasional presence and assistance are almost essentially necessary.

"Having thus unreservedly laid before you all the circumstances of my case, I have only to apologize for the length of this letter, and to request that you will be kind enough to favor me with an answer to the three following queries, viz.:

"1. Do you, on the whole, advise me to go out at the next Conference?

"2. If so, how far may I depend on being admitted upon trial at the Conference, provided I be satisfactorily recommended by the Quarterly and District meetings?

"3. Would it be impertinent for me to request and to hope that, for the first year, I may be sent to some circuit at such a moderate distance from Manchester as would admit of some occasional visits to my mother?

"I beg my very affectionate respects to Mrs. M., and shall be glad to hear that she, yourself, and your son William are in tolerable health. Begging an interest in your prayers that the Lord may direct and help me, I am, dear and honored sir, your very affectionate and much-obliged servant,

"JABEZ BUNTING.

"P.S.—Please to indulge me with your answer in a post or two, that I may make my decision before our Quarterly meeting, which is fixed for Monday next."

The following is Mr. Mather's reply, addressed to "Mr. Bunting, No. 33 Church Street, Manchester:"

"London, March 22d, 1799.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—Yours (before me) fully silences all the fears I suggested to Mr. Marsden, as it proves you have had full counsel, and are come to a fixed determination upon the business in hand.

"I send this hasty line that I may be no let to your proceeding regularly, as your Quarter day is on Monday, and the rather as I see no reason now to suppose your requests will not be fully agreed to. Meantime, give my love to all my brethren, the traveling preachers, with all my other friends

and brethren in Manchester, as if named, to whom I wish great" (*illegible*) "and much prosperity. Tell Brother Heywood he took a kind of French leave: I made sure of seeing him again to say farewell. Our love to him.

"Remember me to your mother and sisters, to whom I hope you will ever prove a dutiful child and affectionate brother. Pray for your (who is joined by his in love to both, *and particularly your uncle Joseph*) ever ready servant in Christ,

"A. MATHER."

A letter to Dr. Percival, announcing his intention to enter the ministry, concludes the notices of this period.

"DEAR AND HONORED SIR,—I have for some weeks past wished to mention to you in person the subject of this letter, but have always found myself unable, from a variety of painful feelings, to perform that task. I am therefore compelled to take this mode of communicating what it would be culpable in me longer to conceal, viz., that I have it in contemplation to abandon the study of medicine, and to enter into the ministry among the Methodists.

"This intention, I trust, is the result of mature and impartial consideration, and of a full conviction that the proposed change in my destination will essentially promote the happiness and usefulness of my future life. The most serious obstacle to my decision has been the fear that I should not obtain from you that concurrence and approbation which I anxiously wish on this, and on every occasion, to possess. I hope, however, that, should you think me to have erred in my views, and disapprove of my conduct, you will nevertheless do me the justice to believe that I am influenced solely by a sense of what appears to be my duty.

"The period at which, if it suit your arrangements, I should wish to be at liberty, is the middle of next July. But I shall be solicitous, on this point, scrupulously to consult your convenience; and, if you particularly desire it, I shall certainly think myself bound in justice to stay with you another year.

"It is with emotions of unspeakable regret that I look forward to so speedy a termination of my present connection with you. I have spent in your household the happiest years

of my life, and shall never cease to entertain a most grateful and affectionate respect for you, Mrs. Percival, and your whole family.

“Having thus prepared the way for a conversation with you on this subject, I have only to add my warmest thanks for the almost paternal kindness with which you have honored me, and to subscribe myself, dear sir, your most obliged and affectionate servant,

J. BUNTING.

“P.S.—For the present, permit me to request that you will conceal the contents of this letter. } *Manchester,*  
*April 20th, 1799.”*

Dr. Percival, as was to be expected, was not very well pleased with the change thus announced; but he very kindly acquiesced in it; and my father, having passed through the usual examination to which candidates for the itinerancy were then subjected, was received by the Conference of 1799 as a “preacher on trial,” and appointed to the Oldham Circuit.

I have thus given the narrative of my father’s call to the ministry almost entirely in his own words, and I make no apology for publishing all he has left behind him on the subject, even at the expense of some repetitions both of thought and language. Sincerity, caution, self-denial, modesty, humility, decision—these are the qualities which strike me as most observable in all he wrote about it, whether intended for perusal by others, or for the assistance of his own judgment and memory. I note, too, his strong sense of the obligation of filial and other relative duties, and the subdued and healthy tone of the allusions to his own religious experience.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## PROBATION FOR THE MINISTRY IN THE OLDHAM CIRCUIT.

Commencement.—John Gaulter.—Timidity.—Devotedness to Study.—Miscellaneous Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, Thomas Preston, George Burton, Edward Percival, John Heywood, the Steward of the Liverpool Circuit, William Black, Dr. Percival, Solomon Ashton, John Crook, and John Gaulter.—Labors and Success at Oldham.—The Burtons of Middleton.

It was in the month of August, 1799, that Jabez Bunting walked to Oldham, the principal place in his first circuit; his only luggage being a pair of saddle-bags, hung over his shoulder, containing his necessary wearing-apparel, and the books required for immediate use. Many a Methodist preacher's whole fortune had, before that day, been carried in like manner, the readiest being the best means of transport for those who spent half their lifetime on horseback.

Joseph Redfern, his uncle and class-leader, walked with him out of his mother's door, and for a considerable distance on the road. The old man's heart was full, and at a lone spot by the wayside he knelt down, asked God's blessing, gave his own, and parted.

My father's first superintendent was JOHN GAULTER, then a minister of fourteen years' standing; president in 1817; a hard-working pastor for eighteen years after his election to that office; and then a happy, "worn-out" "supernumerary" until 1839, when he died in honor and in peace. My father's own hand has recorded upon his tombstone, in the burial-ground attached to City Road Chapel, that "he was a man of much natural genius and talent, and had acquired, by reading, large stores of information;" that "his piety was active, ardent, and devout, and his public ministry laborious, impressive, evangelical, and eminently successful in the conversion of sinners to God," while "in his pastoral relations and functions he was diligent, affectionate, and useful." The minutes of the Conference testify that "his character generally presented a

fine union of intellectual power, devotional feeling, affectionate sensibility, and practical diligence." I may add that he was one of those great men to whom the Church, when they are about to embark in its service, owes rightfully the advantage of a systematic training, and who, for want of it, are prevented from doing full justice to themselves and to their work. It was in the pulpit only, however, and there in respect chiefly of the formal arrangement and nice finish of his discourses, that any defect was observable; but there, and every where else, a glow of kindly genius played about him, which, together with a pleasant, innocent, and unselfish egotism, identified, but, at the same time, endeared him to his many friends. "I have read every book in the English language," he said, one day, in Conference; but he was put to instant confusion by the inquiry, I think, of Mr. Blanshard, the book steward, whether he was master of "Tom Thumb." My father writes to him in the year 1800, after Mr. Gaulter had left Oldham: "I need not repeat here what I said in Leeds, and what you well know, that your presence at the opening in Delph is a *sine quâ non*, and will not, on any account, be excused. We could neither sing, nor pray, nor preach, nor beg, nor eat, nor smile, nor sleep without you." He was a thorough gentleman, and his wife a lady, and under their roof my father missed none of the amenities he had enjoyed in Dr. Percival's household. No wonder that my father's final record of him was an expression "of tender and respectful love." The old man, on his side, was fond of boasting that Jabez Bunting was "one of my lads."

My father has preserved his plans for the whole period of his itinerancy. That for the Oldham Circuit was not printed, but, having been made by the superintendent, was copied out by his colleague for his own use. There were but ten places on the "round," the farthest of which was distant six miles only.

Very few specific traditions can be collected as to his history during the period of his residence at Oldham. It is still told, however, how, after a week-night service in a cottage at Saddleworth, soon after his arrival in the circuit, he held anxious talk with the good man of the house (probably it was William Greenwood) before he went to bed, and expressed his fears that "he should not be able to find materials to hold out even for six months;" and how, locked up in the "prophet's



room" the whole of the succeeding day—his meal-times forgotten by the good people below, because a frightful flood swept through the vale, and forbade their thinking of any thing but their lives and goods—he came down late in the afternoon, all unconscious of the stir, and set off to his next place. In this circuit, too, he first "stood by his order." When some questions were mooted in the Quarterly meeting, during the discussion of which the preachers were expected to retire, he boldly refused to do so; and it was declared by one astonished and angry brother that "a good old rule had that day been set aside to please that proud son of Adam, Jabez Bunting." This pleasant episode remained for many years recorded in the circuit-book, but has been torn out.

Six weeks after he got into his circuit he corresponded with his recent pastor, Mr. Barber, then removed to Rotherham. I think both letters worth preserving.

"Oldham, Sept. 23d, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Though I intended speedily to avail myself of the privilege of your occasional correspondence which you kindly offered to me when I left Manchester, yet I should not so soon have troubled you with a letter but at the desire of my honored mother. She has never received any acknowledgment for the board of Mr. and Mrs. Shelmerdine during the Conference. As her circumstances will not permit her, on this occasion, to act up to her feelings and wishes, she is under the unpleasant necessity of requesting your interference. Perhaps a line from you (if possible, by return of post) to the person who promised you to defray the expense of this business, reminding him of his engagement, and urging him to the immediate fulfillment of it, would be the best way of terminating the matter, and it would be esteemed as a particular obligation both by my mother and myself.

"I have now been nearly six weeks in this circuit, and, upon the whole, have been agreeably disappointed. I fully expected that the first three months, at least, would have been a season of uninterrupted darkness and discouragement. I bless God, He has been 'better' to me 'than my boding fears.' Though I have had trials and exercises unusually severe, I have also received uncommon consolation and support, and, at some times,

my work has been inexpressibly delightful to me. The most distressing temptation that now assails me arises from my neither seeing nor hearing any striking or lasting fruit of my little labors. Perhaps, however, I am too impatient in this, and I live in hope that I shall not long be permitted 'to labor in vain, or spend my strength for naught.' Through the mercy of God, I am more than ever satisfied as to my call to the work, and am fully persuaded that my decision in this matter was agreeable to the Divine will. This clear conviction that I am in the way of Providence tends more than any thing else to encourage and support me, for I can not doubt that the path of duty will ultimately be that of happiness and success. I think that the following lines accurately express the breathings of my soul: 'O may I every mourner cheer,' etc.\*

"We have a tolerable prospect of good being done in most parts of our circuit. Our congregations in general are upon the increase, and many of the people are alive to God. We want, however, more of what, in Manchester, they call the spirit of the revival; more of a willingness to let God work in His own way, and to become co-workers with Him, however contrary that may be to our own preconceived notions of order and propriety. In this point I am rather unpleasantly situated, owing to the divided sentiments of our people upon these subjects. But I desire to do and know the whole will of God.

"I have thus fully opened my mind to you, in the hope that you will favor me with such advices and directions as I may seem to need. A letter from you would be truly acceptable. Mr. Gaulter joins me in love to you; and I remain ever, earnestly begging your prayers, and with affectionate respects to Mrs. Barber, my dear sir, your obliged and unworthy brother and servant,

JABEZ BUNTING.

"P.S.—The Manchester folks are highly gratified with Messrs. Bradburn and Cooper, and are likely to go on well. Dr. Coke is there this evening, and will be here to-morrow, on

\* The whole stanza, written by Charles Wesley, runs as follows:

"O might I every mourner cheer,  
And trouble every heart of stone;  
Save, under Thee, the souls that hear,  
Nor lose, in seeking them, my own;  
Nor basely from my calling fly,  
But for Thy Gospel live and die!"

his way to Ireland. Give me leave to ask your opinion of the doctor's Commentary, and whether it would be worth my while to subscribe for it. At present, I have none but Wesley's and Hammond's on the New Testament; the former too concise, and the latter too entirely critical to satisfy a Biblical student."

"Rotherham, October 24th, 1799.

"MY VERY DEAR BROTHER,—

\* \* \* \* \*

"I am glad to hear that the Lord has been better to you than your fears, and that you have fewer trials and more happiness than you expected. This is the Lord's doing, and ought to encourage you to trust in Him, and excite you to praise Him. The Lord knows whereof we are made, and remembers we are but dust; as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. As you are fully satisfied respecting your call to the work, and that you are where Providence would have you to be, you must leave the time of fruit to the Lord.

"We are sometimes ready to think no good is doing unless sinners are awakened and converted to God; but this is an error; for good is done when the weak are strengthened, the tempted succored, the wavering confirmed, and the children of God fed with food convenient for them. And this, perhaps, is of as much, if not of more importance than the awakening of sinners. At the same time, remember that some men are particularly called to this work, and you may be one of that number. I am fully convinced that what our friends at Manchester call the spirit of the revival is the spirit in which we should all live if we wish to be useful.

"But you will find that many of the rich, and all the lukewarm Methodists will be against it, because they want a religion and a mode of worship that will meet the approbation of the world. If our ancestors had regulated their opinions and conduct according to the judgment of the world, what would the Methodists have been at this day? I am afraid that those of our friends who are so desirous of having the good opinion of the world have already missed their way, for no religion will please them but that of their own stamp. I would therefore have you to form your notions from the word of truth, and not from what this or that man may say on the

subject. Dr. Coke's Commentary (as far as I am able to judge of it) is likely to be the best extant; but you must consider the price, and the length of time it will be in coming out.

"We are very peaceable in our circuit, but at present have no remarkable work of God. My colleague\* is a truly good man, and acceptable to the people, and I hope will be useful.

"Please remember me to your mother and all inquiring friends, as opportunity may serve. I am, my dear brother, your truly affectionate  
J. BARBER."

The late Rev. THOMAS PRESTON, a very steady laborer in Christ's vineyard for nearly forty years, had been stationed in Manchester during the preceding year, but had removed to the Edinburgh Circuit. He writes to my father from Dunbar on March 11th, 1800:

"I am very fond of Scotland, for the many opportunities I enjoy of making improvement in useful knowledge. Our circuit is different from most in England; we have but three places where we preach on a Sunday—Edinburgh, Dalkeith, and Dunbar. The preachers in Edinburgh and Dalkeith change every fortnight at Dunbar, which is twenty-seven miles east of Edinburgh. We stay for three months, except the superintendent, who stays only about one month. Here I have to preach five times a week. I take a walk out by the sea-side before breakfast, and then sit down to read till three or four o'clock in the afternoon. Divinity, Ecclesiastical History, Grammar, and Logic take up my time for the present. I find it is not an easy matter to become a sound divine. To skim over the surface may be done without much trouble; but I am more than ever convinced that to be a workman needing not to be ashamed can not be attained without study, method, taste, and application. The people of Scotland, for the most part, are a knowing, sensible people, but there is not that depth of piety which knowledge requires to keep it in its proper place. But there is no necessity that a preacher should drink into their spirit; and the more he is spiritual in his conversation, the more he is respected by them. I believe the Lord hath called me to the work of the ministry; but I often tremble at the thought. Important trust! to have the care

\* The late Rev. Charles Gloyne.



of souls—souls immortal, and bought with the blood of Christ—souls that must stand before the Judge of all, and meet me before Him—souls that must be acquitted or condemned by the very word I preach! Never court popularity. Always seek the good of souls; and, while your eye is single, you will not only have the approbation of God, but also of good men.”

From a letter addressed by my father to his friend Edward Percival, then at St. John's College, Cambridge, and dated April 18th, 1800, I extract as follows: “You are perfectly right in supposing that Oldham is not ‘the birth-place of genius.’ I am not, however, by any means destitute of agreeable society. Mr. Gaulter, my colleague and superintendent, in whose house I dwell, is a most pleasing and intelligent companion. My situation, on the whole, is a very comfortable one, but it is doubtless made more so than it otherwise could be by the clear conviction of my mind that I am in the path of duty, and that my present profession is that in which I can be most happy and most useful. The improvement in my health has been great indeed, and may be ascribed to the good air, and to the constant exercise on horseback which I am compelled to take. I rejoice most cordially in the accounts which your letter conveys, and which have been confirmed from other sources, of your health and happiness at Cambridge. Your introductions to Mr. Smyth and others were peculiarly fortunate and valuable. A collegiate life is eminently favorable to the attainment of literary and scientific excellence, and I am sure you will not fail to improve its advantages. Last week I read with great pleasure Mr. Hall's Sermon on Modern Infidelity. The discourse does him much honor, both as to its matter and its composition, and justifies the high character you had given him as a preacher. The Baptists of Cambridge seem to be particularly fortunate in the choice of their ministers. Mr. Hall's predecessor, Robert Robinson, was a man of uncommon genius,\* though perhaps a lit-

\* So also thought one of my father's most excellent friends. After quoting in a metropolitan pulpit some of Robinson's writings, he proceeded: “Poor Robinson! He was a great man, but he fell into heresy. Great men are in great danger. The Lord preserve me!” My father himself once said in the course of a sermon, “We do not hold with that insinuating but highly dangerous writer, Robinson, formerly of Cambridge, that every man who understands the Gospel has a right to preach it.”



tle too violent in the expression of his Nonconformist principles."

In the April of this year his friends James Wood and George Burton, both already local preachers, took a preaching tour in Yorkshire. It seems that both then intended to enter the ministry, a circumstance of great interest to those who watched Mr. Wood's subsequent career. "Surely," Mr. Burton writes, "there is no employment under heaven so excellent and profitable as that of preaching the glorious Gospel of Christ. We seem to be both determined to get quit of the world as soon as we can, to be engaged in the good work together."

John Heywood, another member of the Young Men's Society in Manchester, had already commenced his itinerant course in the Macclesfield Circuit, but the state of his health compelled him soon to abandon it. My father writes to him on May 5th, 1800. I give a very few extracts. The writer's connection, in later life, with the Evangelical Alliance, and with public affairs generally, entitles them to notice. After giving other reasons why he could not comply with his friend's wish to meet him in Manchester on an assigned Wednesday, he proceeds:

"It was my turn on the days you were there to be at Tunstead and Mosely, and on the Wednesday Mr. Gaulter and myself were previously engaged to dine with Mr. Coles, a Calvinist minister in that neighborhood, together with Mr. Blackburn, the Independent minister of Delphi, and Mr. Hargreaves, a Baptist minister of Ogden. With these gentlemen we have for some time kept up a friendly connection, meeting at each other's houses once a month, and discussing, after dinner, some theological subject. This plan, if properly conducted, may, I think, upon the whole, be entertaining and profitable. Mr. Gaulter and myself are most decided Arminians, and, therefore, all disputed points are carefully excluded from our conversation, though, if they were not, there would be little danger of their converting us to their creed. On account of various untoward circumstances, it is not at present in my power to change with you; I do not yet, however, give up the idea, though I am unable to fix any time for carrying it into execution. Whenever I can with propriety accomplish it, I shall be glad to seize the opportunity. I confess, however, I am much

afraid of the Macclesfield pulpit and congregation, and I hardly know whether I dare make the attempt. There seems to have been a very general, and, indeed, a very just alarm throughout the kingdom, occasioned by Mr. Taylor's proposed Bill\* for amending the Toleration Act. I am happy to assure you, on the authority of two letters I have received—one from Mr. Taylor himself, dated April 15th, the other dated April 29th, from his attorney, Mr. Ward, of Durham, who is a steady Methodist—that the measure is, for the present, at least, abandoned. On the same authority, I learn that a still severer bill, threatened to be introduced by some members of administration, is also dropped. The Lord reigneth. Mr. Bradburn continues to recover from his late dangerous indisposition. I heard his charity sermon on Easter Sunday; and, though he said many excellent things in an excellent way, I did not think that he did justice either to his own talents or to his subject. This is partly accounted for by what I have since learned, that he preached in exquisite pain, arising from the gout, which had then commenced its attack upon him. We have considerable prospects of success in Middleton. Our congregations and societies are still on the increase. Send me all the news you can. To a Methodist, nothing which concerns Methodism can be uninteresting."

Toward the close of the year the steward of the Liverpool circuit sought my father's consent to his being stationed there after the ensuing Conference. I give a specimen of countless replies to similar applications.

"July 17th, 1800.

"DEAR SIR,—I regret that various urgent engagements have prevented me from returning a more early answer to your obliging letter. My best thanks are due to the brethren at Liverpool for the request they have been pleased to address to the Conference respecting me. Your circuit is, on many accounts, a most desirable one to a young man, and the only personal objections I feel to it arise from two circumstances: first, a fear

\* "Sammy" Hick's Life contains a lively narrative of the interviews of that excellent but eccentric man with Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor on the subject of this bill. My father made a copious abstract of the bill in his own handwriting.

lest so inexperienced a preacher as myself should not be able to minister with sufficient acceptance to congregations so respectable and intelligent; and, secondly, the situation of my mother, who is a widow and lives in Manchester, and to whom my occasional presence and assistance in the management of her family concerns will be necessary during the ensuing year. I ought also to inform you that the affectionate people among whom I now labor have petitioned the Conference not to remove me from my present station. On the whole, however, I cheerfully submit myself to the direction of Providence and to the appointment of the Conference, earnestly praying that the will of the Lord may be done. I am, dear sir, with great respect, most affectionately yours,

JABEZ BUNTING."

A letter from Dr. Percival to my father, and his reply to it, confer equal honor on both the writers:

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—You are soon to remove from Oldham, and in a new situation may not have what you now enjoy there—a library to consult for your improvement. Permit me, therefore, to request your acceptance of the inclosed bank-note for the purchase of such books as may be peculiarly interesting to you in your present theological pursuits. Assure yourself of my sincere and cordial concern for your welfare, and that I shall always rejoice in an opportunity of promoting your happiness and advancement in life; for I am, with true esteem and attachment, your most affectionate friend,

"THOS. PERCIVAL.

"Friday, May 1st, 1801."

"Saturday Evening, 7 o'clock.

"MY DEAR AND HONORED SIR,—I am at a loss for words to express the sense I feel, as of your many past favors, so especially of the recent proof of your goodness. The letter with which you have just honored me, and its very liberal inclosure, have made the strongest impressions of gratitude on my mind, and it will ever afford me the highest satisfaction to evince that gratitude by any little offices of respect and affection which it shall be in my power to render to you or your excellent family. I much regret that, on the present occasion, my urgent professional duties prevent me from attending you as

regularly as I should wish. But, for the kind indulgence with which you have received, both now and formerly, my imperfect services, and for the generous present which demands from me this note of acknowledgment, accept the warmest thanks of, dear and honored sir, your much obliged and ever affectionate humble servant,

J. BUNTING."

During this year my father formed a lasting friendship with the late Rev. William Black, then on a visit to this country from the scene of his arduous labors in British North America. Of the now strong and active Methodism in the eastern provinces of that important portion of the empire he is justly regarded as the founder. While he was attending the Conference in London, my father wrote to him at some length; but in this, as in other cases, I quote but a few sentences.

"Oldham, July 30th, 1800.

"My letter will, at least, be accepted as an expression of that warmth of Christian affection and esteem which I shall ever feel toward you. Unworthy as I am of your friendship, I trust that a blessed eternity will confirm and perfect the attachment which my present short acquaintance with you has inspired, and that, however separated on earth, we shall together spend an everlasting existence. There are few points of view in which heaven appears to me more desirable than when it is considered as the general assembly and Church of the first-born; the common home of all the excellent of the earth, collected from the east, from the west, from the north, and from the south, made much more excellent than they were, and united to each other in the most close and endearing intimacy. There to meet again with those who were here our companions in the kingdom and patience of Jesus; there to recommence the mutual exercises of a pure and holy friendship with the former associates of our earthly pilgrimage; to renew our acquaintance with some whom here we only casually and transiently knew; and to be for the first time introduced to the acquaintance of others of the Lord's redeemed, whom, perhaps, we never saw or heard of—these are prospects of the most pleasing and animating nature. When I think of them, I bless the Father of my spirit that ever I was born, and rejoice in the



hope of the glory which shall be revealed. The Conference has, I suppose, by this time, made some considerable progress in the dispatch of its business. Many petitions have been offered up to God for His blessing on your deliberations. The fast-day on Monday was observed in this circuit with much solemnity, and our meetings for prayer were well attended."

In a letter addressed to his friend Heywood on August 5th, 1800, he expresses his satisfaction with his own appointment for a second year to Oldham, and tells the news he had received from Conference. "A law was unanimously passed, of which I much approve, prohibiting theatrical singers from being employed in our chapels. After a warm and long debate, it was determined by a large majority to send, as a distinct body, an address of congratulation to the king on his late escape from assassination. The speakers were, for it, Benson, Bradburn, etc.; those against it, Clarke, Moore, Rutherford, Jenkins, Bradford, Gaulter, etc. The subjects of noisy meetings and female preachers were discussed at great length." I note how readily Benson had adapted himself, in the course of five years, to the idea of "a distinct body."

"Brother Solomon Ashton," another member of the Young Men's Society, had now been sent into the Lancaster Circuit, and wrote a long account of his troubles: "At my first entrance in this circuit all seemed dark; no horse, no friend; full of reasoning in my own breast; thus on foot I went." Then he describes the places to which his weary walks were directed, including Kendal, Sedbergh, and Settle: eighty-two miles, and eleven sermons, the first week; forty-three miles, and nine sermons, the second; and fifty-nine miles, and seven sermons, the third; the fourth being principally spent in Lancaster. "This was my first month's work on foot. The fatigue of walking and talking, rain by day, damp beds by night, etc., have caused me to suffer very much in health. Whether I shall be able to stand traveling is matter of doubt. Through grace I am resolved to die in the *harness*." "One of our friends offered the loan of a young horse, but I was not willing to receive it until it had been in the hands of some breaker. It has killed itself. I have now bought one." Every thing at once takes a happier turn. "Our congregations are very much



increased; our prospects brighten; we have joined thirty. God is yet with us. Yours in endless love," etc.

From Birmingham, early in 1801, JOHN CROOK, the "apostle of" Methodism in "the Isle of Man," wrote to my father a pathetic and an affectionate letter, relating his own many infirmities, and the impoverished condition of the people in that circuit. "The society is so poor here that the steward has run in arrear with Mr. Suter eight pounds for diet-money for us; and things are so bad that I know not when he can be paid." Alexander Suter was the superintendent, and the father of a son bearing his own name, whose subsequent residence in Halifax made that town a home to every preacher that visited it, and whose genial and hospitable hearth was a centre of intelligence and happiness.

Mr. Gaulter had left the circuit at the Conference of 1800, and was succeeded by JAMES ROGERS, the story of whose conversion and call to the ministry is related in the volumes to which I have before alluded. He was a man of great respectability both of talent and of character; but his health soon broke down, though he continued to itinerate. "What injured my constitution a second time," he narrates, "was a journey which I took to the Isle of Bute when I was stationed at Edinburgh. I was hard put to it for food; and, having nothing that I could relish, I employed a poor woman to gather for me a kind of shell-fish, about half the size of cockles, which was my chief support until I was able to return to the main land." He married two saints in succession; and perhaps the death-bed of his first wife, as recorded by himself, taught lessons as well calculated for general use as those conveyed by the "Life and Letters of Mrs. Hester Ann Rogers," which have attained so large a circulation. He was one of the few who witnessed the last moments of Wesley. My father again observed in him the grave and godly spirit of an old Methodist preacher.

Mr. Gaulter writes to his young friend early in 1801 in a very triumphant tone, stating that he had received a letter from Dr. Coke, who was then in America. He says, "The doctor brings strange things to my ears: a Methodist preacher of the name of Lyall (so his name is spelled in the American minutes) is chosen the chaplain of the Congress. The doctor's

own words are, 'Brother Lyall, one of our elders, has been elected lately chaplain of the Congress by a great majority. He preaches in the Congress Hall, in Washington, on Sundays.\* What a rise from obscurity to notice, from contempt to honor! The good doctor is flushed with delight, and it certainly forms an epoch in the history of Methodism. Perhaps I may yet live to see my friend Bunting a doctor, and chaplain to an imperial parliament. My prayer shall ever be, Give us not honor without grace. I am happy to hear that Mr. Bunting appears with his accustomed honor in the pulpit. We have had the Rev. Miss Barritt here;† and, as usual, a *mighty stir*! and, consequently, a number of professions of conversion; and, as you may believe, we are neither worse nor better for it. In one of our country societies we have a pleasing work. I have seen few such: all the marks of the finger of God are in it." Mr. Gaulter then rejoices "in the financial revolution in Leeds. It was time each preacher's wife had four guineas per quarter, each child two guineas, each servant twelve guineas" (a year), "and the weekly allowance for every preacher eleven and sixpence. This many of the people have long desired. When shall I see you? Do come over. I need not say there is not a man in England I love so well."

My father never regretted the two years he spent in Oldham. The people were plain, simple, and hearty, and there were a few Methodist families of the more intelligent class of inhabitants. The circuit then stretched over the bleak hills and into the romantic valleys which divide Lancashire from Yorkshire, and both mountaineers and dalesmen had a keen

\* I can not but think of the name and talents of another American Methodist minister, the Rev. W. H. Milburn, the blind chaplain to the American Congress, whose recent visit to this country excited so great an interest, and whom I had the pleasure of introducing to my father.

† A preaching lady, very famous in her time, and undoubtedly very useful. I heard the late Rev. William Atherton, that somewhat peculiar, but thoroughly honest, kind-hearted man, and very able preacher, deliver a funeral sermon on the occasion of the death of the second Joseph Taylor, of whom more hereafter. "God often works by strange instruments," said the preacher, with all possible solemnity. "Balaam was converted by the braying of an ass, and Peter by the crowing of a cock, and our lamented brother by the preaching of a woman one Good-Friday morning." This "woman" was Mary Barritt

relish for what they thought a good sermon. They were very proud of their young man; and he won their affection also, not only by his exercises in the pulpit, but by his habitual serenity and composure, as well as by his amiability and diffidence. The circuit, in later years, lost much by not attempting to gain more. But, nearly fifty years after he left it, my father had the great gratification of preaching at the re-opening of the old chapel, much enlarged; and that effort has created another, of which an additional chapel is the result. While resident in Oldham, he preached six hundred and twenty-eight times in his own circuit, and twenty-two times out of it, nearly all the latter being charitable occasions.

I have named Mr. George Burton. He was the son of Daniel Burton, of Middleton in this circuit, a gentleman of the ancient Methodist type, whose daughter, Mary Burton, became the wife of my father's friend, James Wood, and was for many years a pattern of Christian excellence to ladies in superior station. Other sons were James Daniel Burton, who died on his rapid rise to popularity and usefulness as a Methodist preacher; the Rev. Dr. Burton, minister of All Saints' Church, Manchester; and John Burton, best known as of Middleton, who waits, in the cloudless twilight of the eve of life, for his reward, "not of debt, but of grace." His son, John Daniel Burton, after rendering many services to Methodism, received an early recompense. To no family, except to his own, was my father bound by more affectionate and lasting ties.

## CHAPTER IX.

## PROBATION FOR THE MINISTRY IN THE MACCLESFIELD CIRCUIT.

Appointment to Macclesfield.—Extensive Circuit.—Difficulties.—Mr. and Mrs. Allen.—Colleagues.—Jeremiah Brettell.—Thomas Hutton.—Joseph Entwisle.—George Morley.—Methodism in the manufacturing Districts.—Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, George Marsden, Gaultier, and James Wood.—Offer of an Incumbency in the Established Church.—Letters to a Fellow-probationer and to Mr. Whitaker.—Dr. McAll.—Farther Correspondence with Dr. Disney Alexander, Robert Lomas, Richard Reece, and others.—Labors at Macclesfield.—Thoughts of Marriage.—Memoranda in reference to it.—Engagement.—Sarah Maclardie.—Ordination.—Discussions as to his next Appointment.—Were his Orders valid?

By the Conference of 1801 my father was appointed to the Macclesfield Circuit, distant from Manchester about twenty miles. This was a very wide field of action. Three weeks were occupied by the usual round of the itinerant preachers, which embraced a considerable portion of the Peak of Derbyshire, and of what is now known as the Northern Division of Cheshire. The rides through the former district during the stern winter seasons tried his constitution to the utmost. I have commonly remarked that men accustomed to active intellectual exercise are habitually either of keen or of very delicate appetite. My father came within the latter class; and the rough dainties of the country, notwithstanding the hearty welcome which seasoned them, were often utterly repulsive, and still oftener, when received in reciprocal kindness, rather hurtful than nutritious. Indeed, he would have perished of hunger or of indigestion but for the wholesome bacon, and the thin, soft oat-cake which were the ordinary diet of the people; and, to the last, these were among his favorite luxuries. But his health sank under the discipline; and he used often and gratefully to declare that he owed his life to the affectionate nursing of Mrs. Allen, long ago departed. At the house of her husband he was kindly accommodated, and treated as a son during long periods of time together. Mr. Allen was a hearty member and

friend of the society in Macclesfield. Some years ago he purchased two houses for permanent occupation by ministers. A thousand other acts of kindness to the Church, to its ministers, and to the poor of the flock have embalmed his name and memory. My father continued in this circuit also for two years. His colleagues, during the first, were Jeremiah Brettell and Thomas Hutton; and during the second, Joseph Entwisle and George Morley.

JEREMIAH BRETTELL has been dead thirty years. I remember him a tall, thin, and ancient-looking man, very neat in his dress, and very affectionate in his manner. He was born in 1753, and was brought to a "serious concern for salvation" by the teaching and example of his elder brother, an itinerant preacher. After many dark and discouraging reasonings, "I remember one evening," he says, in his own brief notices of his life, "when the moon was rising in her glory, musing upon and singing those lines of Addison—

" 'Soon as the evening shades prevail,  
The moon takes up the wondrous tale,  
And, nightly, to the listening earth,  
Repeats the story of her birth.'

I felt a sweet and heavenly influence to rest upon my mind. Suddenly this hope sprang up—God loves me, after all my wanderings from Him. Fear vanished; peace flowed into my soul; and I was comforted with the conviction that God loved me through the atonement of His Son." Bradburn was stilled into seriousness by looking at some decayed flowers, and Brettell filled with hope and peace as the nightly heavens revealed to him God's changeless ordinances, while Wesley's "heart" was "strangely warmed"\* into the life of love and holiness ere yet the echoes of the anthem at St. Paul's had died away upon his ears. Lessons these for all who despise the beautiful, and insist that a religion rich in sympathies shall steel itself against its own instinctive yearnings after Nature, and after Nature's interpreters, Music and the Arts!†

\* Wesley's "Journals," vol. i., p. 103.

† "Monday, March 29," 1782, says Wesley (Journals, vol. iv., p. 223), "I came to Macclesfield just time enough to assist Mr. Simpson in the laborious service of the day. I preached for him morning and afternoon, and we administered the sacrament to about thirteen hundred persons. While



Brettell began to "travel" in 1774. Thomas Mitchell, a veteran itinerant gave him a friendly caution at starting. "I understand that you are going to travel. You will sometimes be a gentleman in the morning, and a beggar at night." He was appointed to Epworth. "Before I set off," he says, "I bought a horse upon credit of a preacher who was just going to America: fortunately for me the money was never demanded, nor could I ever learn to whom it was due." Horses were the standing temptation of those times. Brettell records many conflicts of mind, but states, "My apprehensions were the strongest when my horse and myself were in danger of sinking in the bogs while crossing the fens." At the next Conference the two brothers were sent to Ireland. "After visiting my native place," the younger continues, "and taking leave of my friends, we set off. And now the sale of my horse, which I had upon credit, served to bear my expenses to Ireland, and to procure another there." In two years he was thoroughly tired out, and suffered from a nervous fever; but after six weeks of almost perpetual sleep he began to recover, and became again fit for work. He was present at the Leeds Conference of 1784, when "a little dispute took place between Mr. Wesley and four of the preachers. Mr. Fletcher appeared as a peacemaker with the preachers who were to blame; he talked with them, and fell on his knees before them; they were struck with his humility and affection, and were melted down into a spirit of reconciliation. In 1785 Brettell was appointed to Bristol. "Here," he writes, "I became more acquainted with Mr. Charles Wesley, as he generally spent some months in Bristol every summer. This society was, at that time, I suppose, the most opulent in the kingdom. Mr. Charles Wesley, being of High-Church principles, did not conceive how the good work, begun in his day, could be carried on without the guidance of pious clergymen. When he met the society he used to exhort them to abide in the Church, and ventured to say that, on his death and that of his brother, the Methodist preachers would divide; some would

we were administering, I heard a low, soft, solemn sound, just like that of an Æolian harp. It continued five or six minutes, and so affected many that they could not refrain from tears. It then gradually died away. Strange that no other organist (that I know) should think of this." The organist on this occasion was my grandfather, Æneas Maclardie.

go into the Church, and others settle as Dissenting ministers; but the people must abide in the Church, and they would get safe to land. He did not know the piety and stability of the preachers so well as his brother did. When I heard him address the society thus, I thought the people could not love us, and felt somewhat discouraged. I had left a lively, affectionate people in the North, and thought the society in Bristol, hearing these reflections upon the preachers, must be very different. I mentioned this to my colleagues, and they told me that Mr. Charles Wesley had been long accustomed to speak in this manner, and that few or none took any notice of it. But his remarks, no doubt, laid the foundation, in some degree, for that partial separation which took place in Bristol a few years after, when some alterations became necessary on the death of his brother."

I must leave the *Arminian Magazine* for 1789 to tell how Mr. Easterbrook,\* Vicar of the Temple Church, Bristol, together with Brettell and five other valiant Methodist preachers (two vicars and the precentor of the Cathedral declining the contest), encountered and defeated divers evil spirits, male and female, which had possessed themselves of the body of one George Lukins. St. Ambrose must have labored under some mistake when he asserted that souls have no sexes.

In 1793 Brettell was stationed with Benson in Manchester. "The good work prospered much under that man of God, Mr. Benson. Many souls were awakened, and brought strongly to know and love God. At one time, in particular, when at the Salford" (now called the Gravel Lane) "Chapel, an uncommon unction attended the prayer after the sermon. He was led to plead with God that every soul in that place might be saved, and I believe every one present was deeply affected under the influence of the Divine Spirit."

Those who wish to know his thoughts at the termination of his next appointment may read them in a note. They are those of a Methodist preacher of the old school.† In 1801 he

\* The only clergyman of whom I ever heard who had preached in every house in his parish. It was very extensive, but he accomplished the work in two years.

† "We had considerable trials from those who were degenerated by Jacobinical politics, and zeal for a new system of religious government, and

retired from very active service, but for eighteen years more he filled well the peculiar sphere of usefulness open to a supernumerary minister; the kind but inofficious counselor of his sons in the Gospel; the friend and visitor of the people, especially of those like himself, on the near look-out for heaven; an occasional and always willing preacher; and a pattern of mature and peaceful godliness. Joseph Entwisle visited him in his last days, and mentions two short sayings, each weighty with great thoughts: "I am on the Foundation." "All is peace within."

But I must now speak very briefly of him who wrote this record. And who that ever saw that beautiful face—a face more angelic than even that of Fletcher, as conveying no idea of a painful intensity of feeling—who that looks at it now, in the faithful portrait prefixed to the admirable Memoir by his son,\* can forget JOSEPH ENTWISLE?

He was born in Manchester, of parents who regularly attended Dr. Barnes's ministry, and served his apprenticeship to Mr. Charles Wood, the founder of the family of that name which, five-and-twenty years ago, gave two members to the Legislature, and himself a zealous Methodist. John Taylor, the foreman of the business, was the chief means of the young apprentice's connection with the Methodists. Mr. Entwisle

felt the unpleasant effects of their opposition in various places. I observed that persons of irregular conduct, and some that had been excluded from the society, became the active agents of this new system of opposition. Every effort was made, by pamphlets and misrepresentations, to alienate the preachers and people from each other. But, not being able to change the government of the Methodist body, all who adopted the new system soon left us. I have observed that divisions have occurred from the beginning among the Methodist societies, as in all other churches, but they have generally been overruled for good to the body at large. They have often caused litigious and unruly persons to separate themselves, when the lenient discipline of the body could not easily have effected so desirable an object. Nevertheless, divisions in Christian societies are, in themselves, a sore evil, and a woe is denounced against those who make them. If persons are not satisfied, they should quietly withdraw; and if they can preach or hear a purer doctrine, and establish better rules, and walk by them, they will have the Divine sanction; if not, they will as certainly wither away. We passed through these troubles with many painful feelings, but with the affectionate support of a pious and established people in Stockport."

\* Second edition; London: John Mason, 1854.

preached his first sermon before he was sixteen years of age, and his last more than fifty-eight years afterward. Perfect models are rare; but, to those of his own type of character, he may safely be presented as the pattern of a judicious, serene, cheerful, and consistent Christian, and of a pains-taking and useful minister. But I should greatly wrong the reader of these volumes if any farther description of this eminent man should prevent the perusal of one of the best pieces of Methodist biography—I speak my father's judgment—which a Church rich in the lives of true saints has produced.

In his Journal of the 24th of October, 1800, Mr. Entwisle writes, "Rode over the dreary mountains to Oldham, and dined there with Mr. Rogers. There I met with Mr. Jabez Bunting, a townsman of mine. He left great prospects in the world, in the medical profession, to become a traveling preacher. He is going on his second year, is about twenty-one, is eminent for good sense, piety, and ministerial gifts, and promises great usefulness. Glory be to God!"

The acquaintance thus commenced ripened into a long and happy friendship; and we shall see that, thirty-four years after the meeting at Oldham, Jabez Bunting's cautious judgment selected Entwisle as the very best person the connection could supply to be the first governor and pastor of the Wesleyan Theological Institution.

I must speak still more briefly of GEORGE MORLEY. His biographer—and he deserves one—will one day describe, in detail, his dignified courtesy of manner, clear and vigorous understanding, large and various knowledge, and continuous and regular attention to all departments of ministerial duty. My father always honored him as the founder of the first Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. At an eventful crisis, it was he who spoke the word which, ere long, planted a thousand churches, and civilized whole tribes and nations of mankind.\*

\* Mr. Morley organized the Leeds District for missionary objects, and so originated our present systematic connectional efforts. But simultaneously, if not before the great meeting at Leeds, moneys were raised for the Methodist Missions by a society formed for the purpose in Birmingham. The founder of it was the Rev. John F. England, now of Holsworthy, Devon. who, having done this great service to Christ's cause, afterward labored faithfully as a Missionary in India. He writes, "I had for some time subscribed to the Church Missionary Society, but it struck me as desirable to



THOMAS HUTTON, my father's remaining colleague in the Macclesfield Circuit, and always remembered by him with great affection, must be passed over here with such notice only as might be given of Methodist preachers generally of every race. With gifts and graces carefully improved, they labor hard and long; they "turn many to righteousness;" they die well; and they "shall shine as the brightness of the firmament," and "as the stars forever and ever."

My father, when at Oldham, had dreaded even an occasional exchange, which should lead to his occupying the Macclesfield pulpit. There was as much reason for this fear as any minister need ever entertain. Macclesfield, like Manchester and other towns in that district, was then rising rapidly into importance as a great seat of industry, and, during the latter half of the last century, Methodism seized as its own, though not with a selfish exclusiveness, the places where men gathered thickly together. The historians of our country have failed to tell how Methodism, with its simple agencies for the conversion of the common people, attended upon the rise of the manufacturing system, and, in the dearth or famine of all other provision, made safe and beneficial the vast and sudden increase of the population and of its means of wealth. It happened accordingly that, in such towns, many were Methodists who had been borne to affluence on the advancing wave of commercial prosperity. At Macclesfield in particular, the Daintrys, the Ryles, and families of like consideration—of the generations immediately succeeding those which founded their fortunes—were among the most intelligent attendants at the Chapel. I have mentioned one name which, no longer represented within our own communion, nobly sustains, in the Church of England, the Methodist reputation for zeal, fidelity, and success.

I can glance but hastily at the correspondence of this period.

Soon after my father's entrance into the circuit, he wrote to turn my mite into a Wesleyan channel. Nothing of the kind existed in Birmingham. Then why not originate one for ourselves? The idea warmed in my mind; I brought it before a circle of fine young men; they entered heartily into the scheme; and we began." These contributions were forwarded to the Conference of 1814, with a letter signed "John Yeates, William Drowley, C. Holt, Treasurers; J. F. England, J. Hardman, Collectors; Thomas Morgan, Samuel Heeley, William Harcourt, Secretaries."



Mr. Marsden, then stationed in Manchester. After telling of some local strifes, the writer proceeds: "What a strange world we live in! and the Church of Christ itself, in its present state, abounds with occasions of trial and vexation, from which there is no adequate refuge but in the sanctuary of God. The personal enjoyments of vital religion, and a close private walk with God, are the only certain sources of pure and lasting pleasure. Happy shall we be if the tumults of the world, and the various agitations and perplexities of the Church, effectually teach us this lesson, and lead us to seek our all of happiness in Him who is our shelter from the tempest and our covert from the storm."

A pleasant letter from Mr. Gaulter relates the story of a visit to the former circuit, Oldham. "—— is, as usual, busy in doing nothing, but washing his hands in innocency." "Do not be too anxious about your success. The work needs you, and I know your health will not permit excessive labor. Take care of the damp in the mountainous parts of your circuit, particularly of the beds. I hope God will keep you."

To Mr. Wood my father writes on December 11th, 1801: "I need not, I trust, assure you that I account your acquaintance and intimacy to be one of those mercies which the God of mercy has poured upon me in such rich abundance, and for which I shall forever bless Him. I think, and am sure, that hitherto our friendship has been mutually profitable to us in the best things; but let us labor that it may become more and more so. Do you regularly and fervently pray for me? This is an office of brotherly affection which I never—no, never—needed more than now. I can with truth affirm that, when it is well with me, I remember you; and, indeed, you are never forgotten by me. With respect to our heavenly Friend, I think I am beginning to love Him more, and I do wish to serve Him better. My mind has certainly been much quickened in its spiritual pursuits since I came into this circuit. There was, I confess with shame, much need of a revival of personal religion in me, for I feel that no diligence in study, no ministerial acceptance or success, no increase in knowledge, will compensate for the absence of the power of godliness. I have been preaching to-night on Phil., iv., 19, but have never had so dull and comfortless a time since I came hither. Perhaps this is to mortify my selfish dependencies, and to teach me that only 'the Spirit giveth life.'

However, I have learned to distinguish between the personal comfort with which my ministrations are performed and their usefulness to my hearers. There is often, I believe, much of the latter, where there is but little of the former."

The Young Men's Society in Manchester appears to have been partially revived early in 1802. Mr. Wood writes to my father, "We had our meeting yesterday morning, when our old subject was resumed. Mr. R. L." (Robert Lomas, then a minister in the Manchester Circuit) "was our president. He is truly a great acquisition to our meeting; the more I know of him, the more I am convinced he is a great and good man." This "old subject" was discussed in a paper which I place in the Appendix;\* the rather so, because it is one of the few specimens preserved of Mr. Lomas's powers as a logician and as a divine.

The next letter in the series, written by my father to Mr. Wood, contains the following paragraph: "I have lately had much of Mr. Horne's† company, and, as my knowledge of him becomes more intimate, my esteem and affection for him proportionably increase. He has various eccentricities; but he is, after all, in my opinion, a man of ten thousand. I wish he were a Methodist preacher, and he, in return, wishes me (would you believe it?) a clergyman. See how we differ! We have had some long and interesting conversations on this point. I will tell you all particulars when we meet. I write this in confidence."

These "long and interesting conversations" took a practical form, and, in course of time, the incumbency of a large Church in Macclesfield was offered to my father, with the promise that episcopal orders should be procured for him.

He promptly rejected all such overtures. Not that his conscience would, under all conceivable circumstances, have prevented his embracing them. He must have hesitated long, in-

\* See Appendix H, at the end of this volume.

† The Rev. Melville Horne, then incumbent, in succession to David Simpson, of Christ Church, Macclesfield. In early life he had been an itinerant Methodist preacher, a curate with Fletcher of Madeley, and a chaplain at Sierra Leone. He was an eloquent advocate of the Church Missionary Society about the time of its formation. Some notices of him, which need not now be read in the controversial spirit in which, very properly, they were written, are to be found in the "Methodist Magazine" for 1810.

deed, before he declared an entire approval of the language of some of the offices contained in the Book of Common Prayer, especially if he had regarded them as tests of opinion, and not simply as formularies of devotion, necessarily unsystematic, and always capable of being corrected, explained, and harmonized by fixed standards of belief.\* The truth was that, in respect of usefulness, he must have lost more than he could have possibly gained by conformity; and there were ties of honor, gratitude, and affection which held him firmly to the Church to which his parents belonged. Trained under its influence, and an intelligent believer in the truth and purity of its system, he never saw any reason for change. Nor was he forgetful of the lessons which the history of the connection taught him. A recent writer† has shown—I think conclusively, and to the silencing as well of regretful Churchmen as of complainers within our own borders—that the separation of a society such as that of the Methodists from the communion of any establishment in which it may take rise is a matter of necessity, even where it is not a matter of choice. But, three quarters of a century ago, the Church of England, it must be admitted, put down Methodism, or tried to do so, with a hearty good-will. Beaten openly, uncondemned, the new sect was thrust, not into prison (the age provided none for such offenders), but out of the pale of ecclesiastical citizenship; and there, where he found himself, my father was content to stay, if with no feeling of resentment, yet with no desire to return. If privilege and position were lost, liberty was won; and, having been born free, he chose it rather. What a parish is the world! As to Episcopacy, I believe my father rejoiced just as much to see it prevail among the Methodists of America as he would have deplored any effort to introduce it among those in England. When its *exclusive* claim, as preferred by some members of the Anglican Church, was urged upon him, he examined it once for all, and dismissed

\* I do not think that he would have felt less hesitation if he had been required formally to profess his assent to all and every thing contained in the service-book published by John Wesley. He strongly condemned the abbreviation of the Psalms, and he repudiated, as utterly unscriptural, the principle on which it was vindicated. Like Adam Clarke, he always preferred to use the Book of Common Prayer rather than the abridgment of it sometimes used in our Sunday-morning worship.

† Mr. Colquhoun.

it. It never raised his anger nor galled his pride. When he saw whole armies turn out to meet its ragged regiment of assertions on one leg, and of assumptions with one eye, he hardly knew whether the rabble or the soldiery disturbed him more. Both blocked up the streets and stopped trade. Why not have sent for a policeman to quiet the mob?

To a young friend in the ministry he wrote during this period, "I thank you for the information your letter affords me concerning the —— Circuits, etc. Such intelligence can not but be interesting to me as a Methodist preacher, and may be useful. Your hints about the talents of several of your neighbors in the ministry are also acceptable. I wish to become as generally and accurately acquainted as I can with the preachers and circuits in our connection. ——'s flights of imagination are truly ludicrous; and, indeed, I think that, in general, the fewer excursions we make into the regions of metaphor and allegory, the better it will be. Plain sense, expressed in plain words, without any show of learning, or affectation of rhetorical brilliancy, is most likely to be of ultimate use to our hearers. Other things may dazzle, but they seldom illuminate or sanctify . . . . . I see there must be some corner of our letters appropriated to matrimonial hints and explanations. Notwithstanding your hint about the union of 'piety and money,' I have some doubts whether the latter be so essential, or even so desirable as you seem to suppose. In your case, at all events, it is not either essential or of prime importance, as you will have private income enough, in aid of your receipts from the connection, to make you comfortable any where. Therefore, unless, not content with competency, you are mad after wealth, which God forbid, you can not do better than direct your attention to our amiable friend, Miss ——, supposing that you approve of her in all other respects. As to myself, all your wit is founded on a mistake. I did not say, at least I could not mean to say, that the chains are not yet forged that are to bind me, but that none are forged which have actually bound me at present; besides, it is not accurate to speak of wives as chains."

To Mr. Wood my father writes again: "Pray for me. I need much help from God. I never in my life felt so much as now my absolute dependence upon his favor, and the nothing-



ness of every created good in the absence of the Creator. I trust I am making some progress in Christ's school. I wish to submit to all His discipline and to learn all His lessons. My joys are now seldom rapturous, but they increase in solidity and steadiness. At all events, this God shall be my God."

To the same friend, recently married to Miss Burton, he says: "The cares of life are apt to divert the attention from the care of the soul, and outward comforts, such as Providence has granted to you, too frequently allure the possessors of them from God. I trust this will not be the case with you. I pray that it may not; and, as I am never likely to be able, in any other way, to testify my grateful sense of the obligations under which your friendship has placed me, I will endeavor to do it by acting toward you the part of a faithful friend, if I should ever have the pain to see you, while busied about many things, grow weary and faint in your mind concerning the one thing needful. I entreat you to perform the same brotherly office toward me, and to watch over me in love."

Soon afterward Mr. Gaulter discusses connectional politics with him. "Now for biennial Conferences. 1. Annual Conferences must be held in the Methodist connection so long as the deeds of our preaching-houses are of any value. They recognize an authority to appoint ministers only by Conferences held annually. This is a legal objection, which no man in the connection can answer. 2. So soon as the report of a change, which so materially affects the itinerant plan, shall be circulated, we may expect discontent, pamphlets, and the return of confusion, which may give occasion to some factious demagogue to promote another division. 3. A change in some stations must take place every year. Who must direct them? The chairman, or the whole district? If the whole, how many meetings must we have in the year? 4. Our Conferences are, in the hands of God, the means of brotherly union. 5. Biennial Conferences will call such a number of the preachers together that the expense will nearly equal Annual Conferences."

I insert the next letter at length; it is addressed to Mr. John Whitaker, an attendant at the Methodist Chapel, and the father-in-law of the late Rev. Dr. McAll, of Manchester:\*

\* Between whom and my father an intimacy existed, which was founded upon their mutual recognition of signal excellences. The young Independ-



“Macclesfield, Saturday Evening, 8 o'clock.

“DEAR SIR,—On calling at Mr. Allen's this evening, I found a parcel directed to me, which, I am informed, comes from you. The inspection of its contents occasions no small surprise. With so generous a donation (if, indeed, I am right in supposing that it is designed as a donation) I never before was honored, and I feel that I ought not to lose a moment's time in thankfully acknowledging this expression of your esteem.

“As a Methodist preacher, I consider myself to be emphatically a stranger and a pilgrim upon the earth, and have buried all hopes and all desires of worldly prosperity. My wants are few and simple, and I am at present happy in serving a people whose regular and ordinary provision comfortably supplies them. I can, therefore, with truth declare that such instances of private liberality as that which I have this night received are, on my part, wholly unsought and unexpected. Your present is not, however, on that account, the less acceptable. Valuable as it is in itself, its value is greatly increased in my estimation, as it strongly assures me of your Christian respect and friendship.

“On such occasions as the present, I am most deeply impressed with gratitude to God and to my friends, and most sincerely ashamed of myself, that I so little deserve and so inadequately repay the kindness I experience. May the recollection of that kindness excite and animate my humble endeavors to be better and to do better in future! May it more and more endear to my heart a service which hitherto I have found ‘profitable to all things!’ And may He for whose sake I know it is that such friendly attentions are bestowed on me, condescend to acknowledge and reward them!

ent minister at Macclesfield had heard of the reputation of the young Methodist minister who had formerly labored there, and when, afterward, the two resided at the same time in Manchester, an introduction soon took place. My father often crept into a corner of the chapel where his friend officiated, and heard sermons which, in brilliancy and frequent breadth of thought, and in uniform fascination of voice and of manner, have seldom been surpassed. M'All had a morbid horror of these visits, and, if he discerned the dreaded presence, would show signs of confusion and distress. His was a rare modesty. He aimed at a standard which no man could attain, and was ashamed, not of the failure, but of the attempt. My father's affectionate tribute to his memory will be found in his Biography by the late Dr. Wardlaw.

"I judge from the handwriting of the direction, and from other circumstances, that to you also I am indebted for another kind present which was sent to me a week ago, and for which I intended to take the first opportunity of returning, in person, my best thanks.

"You will pardon me for saying so much on this subject; I can scarcely pardon myself for saying so little. But I feel sentiments which I am at a loss how to express, and will, therefore, conclude my letter. Believe me when I add that it has been dictated by the full and grateful heart of, dear sir, your obliged and affectionate friend and servant, J. BUNTING."

I quote again from a letter to Mr. Wood: "Mr. Reece spent a night with us on his way to Manchester. He preached for me on, 'Unto you,' etc., 'shall the Sun of Righteousness arise,' etc. The sermon was not one of his best, yet only a good preacher could have delivered it. I think with you that he is much improved by the fire and vehemence he has caught from Bramwell; and I like it the better in him, because he has too much good sense to become a servile imitator. My dear friend, suffer even from me the word of exhortation. Walk humbly and closely with God; and let it be your endeavor—as it shall, by the grace of our Lord Jesus, be mine—to retain, or, if we have in any measure lost, regain our first love, simplicity, holiness, deadness to the world, and zeal for God. As we originally received Christ, so ought we to walk in Him. The more I see of Methodists, the more I am convinced that their great danger, at present, arises from the temptations they are under to drink into the spirit of the world, which, whatever plausible forms or modifications it may assume, is an irreconcilable enemy to the spirit of devotion. I think we are never safe but when we guard against the appearance of this evil, and, for conscience' sake, refuse to be 'conformed to this world,' not merely in things sinful, but even, sometimes, in things indifferent. When we are a singular—a peculiar people, the hedge of scorn and ridicule which encompasses us is, happily, instrumental in keeping us at a distance from the danger of trespassing into forbidden paths."

To Mr. Marsden my father writes, "You will oblige me by telling me frankly the whole history of the separation of Bux-

ton from Macclesfield. Was it fairly and openly proposed and carried at the Quarterly meeting? Did the Buxton friends then declare that they preferred union with this circuit, even though they could only have preaching from us once a fortnight, and that they would be content with local preachers on the other Sunday? Did they know of the proposed separation; and might they have been heard against it if they chose?" I note this early instance of his regard for popular constitutional rights.

During the whole of my father's residence in Macclesfield he maintained a correspondence with Mr. Disney Alexander, then a surgeon at Halifax, but afterward a physician in Wakefield; a man of great taste and of considerable acquirements, who, having been recovered from skepticism,\* had become a Methodist and a local preacher, and had published "*Reasons for Methodism*," but who ultimately adopted the opinions—perhaps I ought rather to say the doubts—of the Unitarian sect. The letters related almost exclusively to topics of preaching and theology. I give an extract from one of my father's own communications.

"The volumes of Bourdaloue were duly returned. I am sorry, but not much surprised that they disappointed your expectations. Have you seen the Sermons of Saurin in French? Some of those not yet translated by Robinson or Hunter possess, I am told, pre-eminent merit, especially one on the New Birth, and three on the danger of delaying our conversion.† Those on the latter subject (a subject, in my opinion, of all others most necessary to be insisted upon in the present state of the religious world) Mr. Horne is now translating for the benefit of his congregation, and I have some hope that, after using them in his pulpit, he will commit them to the press. I perceive from the monthly lists of foreign publications that a great variety of French sermons has been recently imported, chiefly by Genevese preachers. I should like to know something of their character and merits. Can you give me any information

\* See the account in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1796.

† These and other sermons of Saurin were afterward translated into English, and published by the late Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, A.M., a man of great beauty of mind and excellence of character, and whose *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* has met with much deserved acceptance.

concerning them? I am much obliged and gratified by the account you have transmitted to me of the plan of your sermons on the Evidences. I greatly wish to have the opportunity, which you kindly promise, of perusing them at length. Your outline I think a very good one. I am glad that you avoid entering into any long detail of objections, and of answers to them. Such details in the pulpit, I am afraid, oftener do harm than good. A difficulty may be urged and explained in a few words, but very fully, which it would require great length of time to solve; and many will understand and remember this difficulty, who, for want of the requisite patience and attention, will neither comprehend nor retain the solution. Plainly and forcibly to state the positive evidences, and in a brief, yet full and connected manner, is, to my mind, a better way of defending the truth against the cavils of opponents than to attempt the endless task of providing minute and particular replies to every objection which ignorance or prejudice may suggest. By the former plan we shall often prevent such objections; by the latter we can, at best, but cure them. We ought, perhaps, to copy, in this particular, the conduct of the first preachers and Christians, who, it should seem from the Acts of the Apostles, confined themselves, in general, to a plain statement of the doctrine of our religion, and of the prophecies and miracles to which it appeals, and took little pains to reply to objections. The display of truth is the best refutation of error, the surest antidote to falsehood. I am in possession of the little tract of Clarke to which you refer, and unite with you in thinking it to be a masterly production. His remarks on the inseparable connection between the moral excellency of our Savior's character and the truth of His miracles are peculiarly forcible. I recollect no writer on the subject who has done so much justice to this branch of the evidence, by showing the absurdity of those who, while they profess to admit and admire the former, reject and deny the latter. Yet it has sometimes struck me, on reading this pamphlet, that the author should, in the course of his argument, have taken more notice, and made more use of that part of it which it has, of late, become usual to term the peculiar doctrines of Christianity; for it seems to me that, without advertng to these, the Gospel can not be displayed in its full glory and excellence. If the Socinian view of Christianity



is just—if it is only the injunction of moral duties, enforced by a clearer revelation of future rewards and punishments than had before been made, I own I should see little in it worthy of such miraculous interference as it lays claim to. There wants in that scheme the *dignus vindice nodus*, as Dr. White, I think, in the Notes to his Bampton Lecture, has well argued. The vast apparatus of prophecies and miracles employed for its introduction appears to be more extensive and laborious than the end in view required or justified: But, if Christianity is considered as a scheme for the salvation of creatures whom sin had degraded and ruined, by the mediation of an Incarnate Deity, the whole system then assumes a credible and consistent form, and becomes evidently worthy of God to contrive and establish by means so grand and extraordinary. In the point just referred to, the tract of your neighbor, Mr. Fawcett, written five or six years ago, has the advantage of Mr. Clarke's."

Some passages in a letter to Mr. Marsden furnish notices of what was wont to be done at that stage of the crystallization of Methodism. "The preachers of this district met last week at Northwich. A good deal of conversation took place about the stations for the district, and a rough sketch was made for the assistance of our representative. I was put down for Burslem along with Mr. Barber. The Welsh Mission is still astonishingly successful. Some of the most serious clergy, who encourage the mission, if any of our preachers are present, are in the habit of desiring them to stand by the communion-tables, and to give out our hymns while the sacrament is administering."

My father commences a correspondence with Mr. Lomas in the following terms:

"Macclesfield, June 9th, 1803.

"MY VERY DEAR BROTHER,—Indolence in the discharge of epistolary duties is one of my easily-besetting sins: a circumstance this of which I think it right to give you notice in the first letter which I write to you, that you may not be surprised if, in the course of our future correspondence, you should sometimes have reason to complain of it. To such an occasional correspondence I look forward with great pleasure; and the hope of being benefited and edified by your frequent communications will, I think, induce me to strive vigorously against my



natural aversion to the use of my pen. In all respects, I believe, I am more in danger from sloth and inactivity than from any thing else. I approve, admire, and love what is good, but I do not pursue it with sufficient eagerness and perseverance. My exertions are too languid and transient to be very successful. I want energy and uniformity. Tell me what means I shall adopt in order to attain to that holy violence which takes the kingdom of heaven as by storm. As a Christian and as a preacher, I feel myself equally deficient in that strength which would render me mighty through God to be good and to do good."

Mr. Lomas and Mr. Reece corresponded with each other and with my father as to certain movements at Leeds and Manchester on the part of the "Revivalists;" a class which, about this period, again occasioned considerable uneasiness to the fathers of the connection, and to the more intelligent and pious of the junior preachers. William Bramwell, a man eminent for holiness, and for the gifts which, rightfully used, insure ministerial success, openly espoused the cause of this party until their conduct ended in a miserable schism. He was stationed in Leeds, and Mr. Reece writes to Mr. Lomas: "If a Revivalist must be supported by one preacher and two leaders in opposition to three preachers and fifty leaders" (of the three so opposed were Barber and Reece), "when he tramples the rules of our society under his feet, and that merely because he is a Revivalist, Revivalism will soon ruin Methodism."

"Divisions in the Church of Christ," writes Mr. Lomas to my father, "are awful, and I would do all I could, with a good conscience, to prevent them; but I think the time is come for the Methodist preachers to bestir themselves, and to do all they can for the honor of the religion of Christ as taught and enforced among themselves. I think they must now 'arise or be forever fallen.'"

Mr. Entwisle writes to him from the Stationing Committee of 1803: "You are down for London, and, if you go, are to live with Mr. Joseph Taylor. How this came about I will fully explain to you when I see you. But Mr. Benson seems determined you shall go there."

My father was now rapidly completing his term of four years'

probation, and he had well and diligently improved it. He devoted himself exclusively to the studies and engagements directly relating to his new vocation. The pulpit received his first attention, not so much because its claims were instant and almost daily, as because he knew that the secret of ministerial influence lies chiefly there. This idea was kept uppermost, whatever interest he took in the private departments of pastoral labor, or in the welfare of the connection generally. He never missed an opportunity of hearing a sermon. Service during church-hours not having been yet introduced into the Methodist Chapel, he was able frequently to attend the vigorous ministry of Mr. Horne, and he communicated occasionally at his church. He read largely in general theology, including the published sermons of both old and modern preachers. He carefully copied and preserved skeletons and sketches of sermons. He extracted from his general reading every thing that could suggest topics or materials for public discourse. He tried his hand at amending other men's compositions. His own preparations were full and elaborate, and were subjected to continual revision. But of these I speak with diffidence. At least one volume of them will probably meet the public eye. He was very diligent in his attentions to the sick and aged of the flock, and particularly so to its younger members. To these his services were rendered eminently useful. He busied himself, in strict subordination, however, to his superintendent ministers, with every part of the finance and general business of the circuit. The letters from which I have quoted are evidence of his anxiety to master all questions affecting the connection as a whole. They also show a steady improvement in personal religion.

During the four years of trial he preached thirteen hundred and forty-eight times. At the end of the second year (and I can not carry the account farther) he had nearly a hundred sermons ready for use as he might require them. His plan seems to have been to preach each one at different places in the circuit in rapid succession. Among his papers are notes of outdoor preaching. He had already become very popular, and paid frequent visits to other circuits, under limitations which his own good sense and the discretion of his superintendents very properly imposed. I can not but observe with interest a

memorandum of a sermon preached at the house, in or near Leeds, of Mrs. Mather, then a widow. For the benefit of any interested in the information, a list of some of the texts upon which he prepared sermons will be found in the Appendix.\*

Every Methodist preacher, when his probation has ended, and he is fully received and recognized as a minister, but not before, is entitled to charge the connection with the maintenance of a wife. The regulation is easily vindicated when explained. For the candidate's own sake, it is expedient, except in very special circumstances, that his attention should be exclusively devoted to the duties and studies of his vocation; besides which, no man of honorable mind will expose a woman whom he really loves to the results of possible failure. To the connection, the arrangement secures all the advantages which the probationer derives from it; and it is far easier to deal faithfully with the case of an unmarried man, than with that of one who has doubled his responsibilities. When the period of trial has been honorably passed, all parties derive benefit from the speedy, if prudent marriage of the young minister. He settles down at once to the business of life, with all its sympathies and interests, and finds in the joy and solace of his home the readiest assistant of his work abroad. Let all who know the admirable women who cheerfully endure the hardest straits of the Methodist itinerancy testify how truly I speak on this subject.

I find traces so early as the conclusion of 1802 of a friendship which, in my father's case, ripened into love and marriage. But the history of his decision is recorded by himself, and I think it should not be kept secret. It supplies many suggestions to young ministers whose thoughts may be similarly occupied; and it is a striking exhibition of the writer's characteristic qualities. The following is slightly abridged from a memorandum found among his papers:

"There are two questions to be seriously considered before I make my final decision on the most important business which has so long occupied my thoughts and so deeply interested my most tender affections. May God graciously direct my paths, and enable me to judge aright!

"I. The first question is *general*; viz., *Shall I marry, or take any step toward marriage, at present?* Is it my duty, or con-

\* See Appendix I, at the end of this volume.

sistent with my duty, to engage in such a relation at all? Will it promote the glory of God and my welfare? Shall I probably be as holy, happy, and useful in a married as I may be in a single state?

“For *the affirmative* it may be urged,

“1. It must be the will of God that persons in general should marry at a proper time. The present constitution of man and of the world is such as to prove that Providence intended this; and evident Providential intention is as binding as explicit precept. The general law of God, therefore, enjoins matrimony as matter of obligation in all ordinary cases; so that every person is providentially bound to marry, if he can not plead some special ground of exemption. May it not be questioned whether *unnecessary* celibacy is not a sinful counteraction of the purposes and plans of Divine Providence? St. Paul’s advice to the Corinthians does not evince the contrary; for it was given in a time of violent persecution, and is expressly limited to what he calls *the present distress*. To understand it as a precept of general and permanent application would be to make the God of Revelation contradict the God of Providence. Nay, Scripture itself declares that ‘it is not good to be alone,’ and that ‘marriage is honorable in all.’

\* \* \* \* \*

“Late marriages are, in many other respects, inconvenient; and can I accuse myself of improper haste or eagerness if I think of accomplishing such a purpose by the time I shall be twenty-five years of age?

“A Methodist preacher without wife, and without any home of his own, has many inconveniences and difficulties to bear, of which one married is wholly divested. My comfort, therefore, as well as my piety, would, I think, be promoted by a proper union of this nature.

“While I delay this business, my choice being unfixed, my mind will, of course, be unsettled, and I shall be liable occasionally to much perplexity and exercise, which would be escaped by endeavoring to fix now. What I have often detected in my own heart with respect to Miss —, and am still conscious of, confirms this view of things, especially if connected with the probability that I must remove hence in August.

“On these and other accounts, I think the probability of superior permanent usefulness, also, is against a much longer celibacy, and in favor of some immediate efforts toward matrimony.

“On the other hand, it is to be considered,

“1. Marriage will certainly bring with it new cares, and must be expected, as is the case with every thing human, to have its trials and inconveniences.

“2. There is always some danger of making a wrong choice, which might render me miserable, and greatly obstruct my usefulness.

“3. Perhaps this step might not be quite agreeable to my dear and aged mother. She might, in that case, fear lest such a connection might too much wean me from her, and render me less attentive to her comfort.

“4. It may be questioned whether I might not pursue my studies to more advantage if I deferred all projects of this kind a few years longer.

“5. My health is not now robust: it has been delicate and interrupted. Ought a man thus circumstanced to marry? Is it right to engage a lady in a connection which, if I should become an invalid, might prove burdensome and disagreeable to her?

“After the most deliberate consideration, accompanied with solemn abstinence and prayer, my judgment is, that the balance of argument is greatly in favor of matrimony as soon as convenient. The first reason against it, if of weight at all, would be of weight in every case, and, by proving marriage to be generally inexpedient, would contradict reason and Scripture. Besides, inconvenience and trouble are not valid excuses for neglecting what has appeared in itself to be a general duty. The selfish, indolent, and cowardly principle, from which these excuses proceed, must not be tolerated by a Christian. The second objection is one which can only apply to a particular person; not to the connection itself. It ought to be kept in mind when I come to the selection of an individual for a wife, but can not be of sufficient force to prohibit me from forming the relation at all. As to the third, I do believe that marriage, if I happily meet with one whose views of filial duty and Christian piety at all resemble my own, will not either indispose or



incapacitate me for paying every proper and possible attention to my mother. After considering the fourth, I am of opinion that, when fully settled in life, I shall be able to pursue my studies, not with less, but with more advantage than at present; and, at all events, if marriage be advisable in order to piety, the partial interruption of my pursuit of knowledge will be ultimately better than celibacy. As to the fifth objection, I think my constitution is not at all impaired; with proper caution, I believe my health will improve; the occasional interruption of it I am authorized to ascribe to local and temporary causes; and for seven months it has been uniformly good.

“II. The second question is *particular*, and relates not to the general propriety of marriage in my case, but to the suitability of an individual. *Is Miss ——* a proper person to be addressed by me on the subject?

“Some of the arguments in the affirmative are as follows:

“1. I am not sure that she is eminently, but I believe she is very sincerely and truly pious. In marrying her, if I can gain her consent, I should not transgress that precept, ‘Marry only in the Lord;’ nor that, ‘Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers.’

“2. Her natural temper is, according to all the accounts I have heard, and all the observations I have made, uncommonly mild and good. This is a point of prime importance, and will make up for many failings.

“3. She has assuredly great good sense; has been suitably educated; is well informed; and very extraordinarily qualified to be a helpmate to a minister in his studies and labors.

“4. She has, apparently, good health, a sound constitution, a vigorous frame, and a great flow of spirits.

“5. Her manners are polished and agreeable, so that she would be fit for any of the various scenes and situations into which the itinerant life might call her.

“6. She was brought up under the care of one who, I have reason to suppose, has accustomed her to domestic habits, and fitted her by practice for performing the duties of a wife in domestic concerns. Since Mrs. ——’s death, she has had the management of her father’s house, which must have farther tended to qualify her for the station in question.

“7. She has eminent talents for usefulness (*e. g.*, in visiting the sick), which, if properly directed, would render her agreeable and profitable to our societies.

“8. She has very few relative connections—none, I think, which would materially harass or incommode us in a religious view, and as Methodists, if we were once united.

“9. If I am not wholly deceived, there is some reason for me to hope that our respect for each other is mutual. On my side, indeed, that respect has long been ripened into conscious, though concealed affection, and on hers, perhaps, it may amount to something like predilection. The probability that my addresses might be favorably received is, to one in my public station, and with my views of ministerial character and propriety, an important inducement.

“10. She has expressed, also, a considerable predilection for the situation of a minister’s wife, as favorable to those pursuits in which her mind finds most delight. This predilection would tend to reconcile her to many difficulties, and she would know how to appreciate more justly the intellectual and religious advantages which she would enjoy.

“*On the other hand*, though already so much her lover as to be also her admirer, I can not but allow,

“1. I have no proof, from any thing I have seen or heard, that her piety is *deep*, though I think it is sincere and steady; yet, probably, in a more favorable situation and connection it would grow.

“2. Her attachment to Methodism is comparatively of recent date, and the effects of the Calvinistic education which she received, upon her views and expressions, are not altogether removed.

“3. Her temper, from its extreme vivacity and cheerfulness, is apt to become occasionally light and trifling. This might easily affect a mind like mine with similar levity, the bane of all spiritual religion. Or, if I avoided it myself, I should be greatly pained and embarrassed on witnessing in her manners and conversation those effects and indications of it which I, who love her, and know the excellency of her general character, might excuse, but for which others would not make even proper and reasonable allowances; yet, as she must be aware that this is her peculiar besetment, doubtless she would strive

and pray against it, and an increase of vital religion would deliver her from it.

"4. Her dress is at present by far too gay, and costly, and worldly; but in this also, if she approve my proposals in all other respects, she would probably promise to make the necessary amendment, on proper representations.

"5. It is highly probable that some of her connections would dissuade her from acquiescing in my project, and that some of my friends, who do but partially and insufficiently know her, would severely condemn my choice. But is it not right, while, in forming our judgment, we pay proper regard to the advice of others, ultimately to judge and decide for ourselves?

"6. In becoming my wife, she would certainly be exposed to some hardships, and inconveniences, and privations, to which, in her present situation, she is a stranger; yet if, on a fair statement of these, she be willing to take me 'for better, for worse,' are they any reasons why I should lose so eligible an opportunity of procuring the comforts and blessings of conjugal friendship? And, even as it respects herself, this objection will be of less force if she have at command any property, which, by adding to our income from the connection, would contribute to multiply our conveniences.

"On the whole, my judgment now speaks decidedly the same language which my affection has long suggested; and I feel my mind at liberty, yea, I trust, divinely led and inclined, to take the first opportunity of professing my attachment, and soliciting a favorable answer. Whatever be the event of this intended application, O Lord, my God, my Father, my Friend, prepare me for it, and sanctify it to my present and eternal good!

J. B.

*"Orrell's Well, near Lindow Side, Macclesfield }  
Circuit, July 7th, 1803."*

A very few weeks after this paper was written, my father was betrothed to the dear and honored woman to whom it refers with such warm but judicious affection. No single event of his life, other than those of his conversion and of his call to the holy ministry, exercised upon his character and entire career an influence so conducive to his happiness and success. Of her I wish to speak in the language of others rather than in

my own, and that so as not to intrude the memorial of her precious virtues upon any to whom it may be less interesting than the continued narrative of my father's life. The only connected records of my mother's life and death which were ever prepared are therefore placed in the Appendix.\* They were hastily written for the funeral sermon preached on the occasion of her decease. I shall, however, hereafter quote from a document which refers to both my parents, and some features of his wife's character require the notice of Jabez Bunting's biographer.

She had seen much of the society of ministers. David Simpson, her pastor and chief spiritual adviser, united in his own person the clergyman and the Methodist. With the Methodist preachers, distinctively such, the frank and cheerful conversation, and the active charities of the young girl had made her a special favorite. Mr. Smith, in whose family she resided for some years, was an Independent, strongly Calvinistic, and eminently gracious. Her intimate friend, Jane Dorothea Stephenson, between whom and herself frequent visits and a correspondence passed during many years, was the daughter of the incumbent of Olney; and my mother was accordingly brought into close connection with the class of clergy with which the name of that village is identified. She had thus acquired a lively interest in ministerial studies and pursuits; a sound and healthy, if somewhat critical taste for preaching; and a catholic knowledge and love of good men; so that, when she was married, two large and generous hearts united, and, by the union, increased their sympathies. Her reverence for her husband prevented any interference with his own peculiar work; but she had a ready tact in giving an impression where she would not venture to offer an opinion; and her tender regard for his honor opened her ears, all attentively, to whatever affected it. She relieved him entirely from the pressure of all strictly domestic affairs; she husbanded well his small income—small even when her own was added to it; she was his ornament in general society; she presided with dignity and grace over his hospitalities at home; she searched out for him the poor, those most rightful claimants on a minister's pious care and charity; she assisted him in his spiritual work by taking

\* See Appendix J, at the end of this volume.



the oversight of large classes of females, especially of such as were young or feeble in the faith. As to the Calvinism, the possible effect of which he so cautiously weighed before he committed himself to the connection, she used playfully to threaten him with a total relapse into it at times when things went wrong—when the price of provisions was very high, or leaders' meetings were very stormy. Her dress, about which I must admit she teased him during a courtship which both were glad to end, was, from motives alike of prudence and of economy, adapted to the proprieties of her station. He foresaw truly that her vivacity would sometimes be misunderstood in many of the circles in which it was her lot to move, but it lit up a perpetual sunshine in his heart and household. Her strong good sense, and her readiness in the clear, apt, and striking expression of her thoughts, sometimes frightened the proper and the narrow-minded, and, of course, wounded the jealousy of conscious inferiors. But men of great spiritual wisdom courted her company; timid young preachers sunned and strengthened themselves in the light of her loving and sagacious counsels, and faltering Christians waited for a smile from her bright and kindly eye.

At the Conference of 1803, my father and twenty-eight other young men stood in the front seats, round the gallery of Oldham Street Chapel, Manchester; the place where Wesley had blessed him; to which his mother had taken him, Sabbath after Sabbath, when a child; and where, probably, he had formed his first wish to serve God.

Mather and Thompson had "fallen asleep;" but Benson was there. Joseph Bradford, who saw Wesley die, was in the chair; and about him sat Coke, the first Joseph Taylor, Rutherford, Pawson, Bradburn — blessing God "for the love which the preachers manifested, and for restoration to a proper name among them"—Entwisle, Walter Griffith, Barber, Clarke, Robert Lomas, James Wood, James Rogers, Thomas Taylor, John Crook, and, indeed, a whole college of apostles. By my father's side on either hand, there ranked Robert Newton, Leach, Pinder, William Edward Miller, Claxton, Needham, Slack, Isaac, Garrett, and Gilpin, to name some only of the candidates to be "received into full connection," or, as it would have been called in other churches, to be solemnly set apart to the work and



office of the holy ministry. The Church, as well as its ministers, was there, represented by a huge congregation of praying men and women, to witness and approve the act. His mother sat in her own quiet corner; and one become dearer still hid herself in the general crowd, to hear vows more sacred only than those which were soon to be pledged to herself. Searching questions are put to those who stand up there. Each replies for himself; and, in the tone and manner of the answer, a quick observer often reads a character and casts a horoscope. Every candidate was asked that night, "Are you resolved to devote yourself wholly to God and His work?" And when Jabez Bunting's turn came, and, with a serious modesty, he said, "*I habitually do*," the old men exchanged looks, and lifted up their hearts in hope and prayer, "and great grace was upon them all."

The night before this solemn consecration to the ministerial office, he had written (it was the third time that week) to Miss Maclardie: "The Conference this morning, after a long and warm debate, confirmed, by a considerable majority, my appointment for London. I believe it is of God, and am very sorry that the Manchester people should have occasioned so much trouble about me. My mind is at present much pained in consequence of what passed on this subject. Such overstrained importunity about an individual makes one the object of universal attention, and the topic of general conversation. It may, moreover, excite the envy and jealousy of those whose labors happen to be less acceptable to the people; and it is productive of real injury to him whom it seems to honor, by raising to too high a pitch the expectations of those among whom he may afterward be called to exercise his ministry. After what has occurred concerning me at this Conference, I must be possessed of talents gigantic indeed in order to answer the ideas which the petitions of Manchester, Liverpool, and London will tend to excite in the minds of those who may hear of the affair. I am greatly mortified and distressed. Pray for me, I beseech you, that the God of all grace and comfort may help and direct me. I now need, more than ever, the supplies of the Holy Spirit. This forenoon Mr. Roberts proposed that, in order to prevent all farther altercation about London or Manchester, I should go to neither place, but to Bath. This motion, also, was

overruled, but not till my feelings had been again most painfully affected by the awkwardness of my situation. By the present decision I mean resolutely to abide, and to prohibit all farther applications from my friends here by an absolute refusal to come to Manchester; a step this, which, till now, I could not see it my duty to take. The good Lord prepare us to be true helpmates for each other; companions, not only in the cares and pleasures of life, but in the kingdom, and patience, and tribulation of Jesus! May we both grow in grace, and give all diligence to be found of God in peace, without spot and blameless! To-morrow will be to me a most important day. To be publicly and solemnly admitted into the ministry; by one irrevocable act to abandon all secular pursuits, and to devote my body and soul, my health and strength, my time and talents, my studies and labors, to the service of the Church which Christ hath bought with His own blood—that is the business which lies before me. Oh, may my eye be single, my mind suitably affected by the important occasion, and my whole subsequent conduct correspond to the engagements into which I shall then enter! My spirits are oppressed by these things, but in God is my refuge and my strength. Be you His instrument to relieve and help me.”

Now is the time to ask whether my father was satisfied with the orders conferred in the manner I have stated. I may have occasion hereafter to advert to his views on this question. Meanwhile I give a brief answer. He believed in the abstract necessity of an order separated to the pastoral office, and in its appointment by the Lord Jesus as a perpetual institute. He believed also that, as a rule, the order ought itself to provide for its own continuance, while he admitted of exceptions in special cases, where the application of the rule was impossible. Yet farther, he believed that apostolic precedents sanctioned the use of the imposition of hands as a solemn and fitting circumstance, but not as an essential part of the rite of ordination. He did not believe in the exclusive validity of episcopal ordination, nor did he concern himself to trace the precise pedigree of any Presbyter or Presbytery who discharged the function of ordaining, provided that he or it possessed a *de facto* right, not notoriously usurped or wantonly exercised, to sustain the office of the ministry. He received his own commission from

Coke, on any theory a Presbyterian; and—through those whom Wesley, also a Presbyterian, had, whether of set purpose or by necessary implication, ordained—from Wesley himself. He rejected the figment of the indelibility of orders. Ministerial powers and functions, in his view, belonged to the office, and not to the person sustaining it. Proved crime or incompetency justified and demanded exclusion; and entire incapacity for duty, providentially occasioned, was always an excuse for engagement in secular avocations, and sometimes an imperative call to it. But I turn to other subjects.

## CHAPTER X.

### HIS EARLY MINISTRY IN LONDON.

Colleagues. — Joseph Taylor. — Benjamin Rhodes. — William Myles. — George Story. — Dr. Leifchild's Recollections of Jabez Bunting's first Appearance in the Metropolis. — First Portion of Diary sent to Miss Maclardie. — Committee of London Preachers. — Early-morning Services. — The Penitents' Meeting. — Dr. James Hamilton. — The Eloquence of the Pulpit and of the Bar. — William Jay. — Persecution of the Methodist Soldiers. — Letter from Dr. Percival. — Intercourse with Joseph Butterworth. — Wesley's private Library. — Letter from Entwisle. — Counsels to an intended Wife. — Joseph Taylor on Song-singing. — The Christian Observer. — William Huntington. — The Claytons.

I HAVE already described "what manner of entering in" the young minister had when he arrived in London in August, 1803.\*

Joseph Taylor, the first of that name who adorns the annals of Methodism, and in whose house he resided; Rutherford, one of his former pastors; Benjamin Rhodes, and William Myles, were his colleagues. Benson also took up his permanent residence in the metropolis as the editor of the Magazine. Creighton was the clergyman who officiated at the Chapel in City Road; George Story, the general editor; Whitfield, the book-steward; and Rodda, another well-remembered pastor, a supernumerary, or retired minister.

This appointment was varied, during the second year of his continuance in the circuit, by the substitution of Entwisle for

\* See letter to his mother, chapter i., p. 28.

Myles, and of Joseph Hallam for Rhodes; and Mr. Lomas was added to the staff of the Book-room.

JOSEPH TAYLOR, who had been formally ordained by Wesley, and who had just vacated the presidential chair, was then a minister of twenty-six years' standing, and labored for eighteen years more, closing his career in 1830. Excessive zeal during his earlier itinerancy had injured his health, and frequent illness had given to his appearance and exercises in the pulpit an air of physical feebleness. But he had all the faith and more than the love of an Old Testament patriarch. The qualities which most commended him to those who knew him in old age were industry, punctuality, integrity, strict self-denial, and an almost lavish benevolence; virtues of high separate value, and, when combined, certain proofs of general excellence and stability of character.

BENJAMIN RHODES, though placed under Mr. Taylor's superintendency, had traveled many years longer, as, indeed, had Rutherford. In those days ministerial seniority did not, with the same regularity as in ours, carry with it the chief charge of a circuit. Wesley, more than most administrators, adopted the principle of "the right man in the right place;" and knowing well that, as a rule, no man can be expected to possess pre-eminent merit as at once preacher, pastor, and superintendent, while on the other hand, co-pastorates, properly arranged, secure the competent discharge of every function, allotted each "son in the Gospel" to the post in which his special talent would be best occupied. Wesley's immediate successors followed his example. Would that the people, who now increasingly interfere with the appointment of ministers to circuits, always exercised the same sound discretion! I read in the face of Rhodes, as his portrait appears in the second volume of the *Arminian Magazine*, characteristics which his own modest record of his life does not suggest, but which I should expect to find in the author of the "Hymns on the Kingdom of Christ," in the Supplement to Wesley's Collection. [P. 583, 584.] In the heart, as on the brow of the writer of these stanzas, there must have dwelt a solemn and a lofty piety, an earnest evangelism, and a patient longing for the coming of the triumphant Savior. He died in 1815.

WILLIAM MYLES, one of the historians of Methodism, never



lost the ardor and simplicity which at once told he was an Irishman. He traveled nearly fifty years with acceptance, and was one of the eight preachers appointed by Wesley's will to occupy the pulpit of the Chapels in City Road, London, and in King Street, Bath. Dr. Beecham, his biographer, did not regard his talents as of the highest order; but, like many others of that race of ministers, though lacking the advantage of an early and a systematic education, he had given both to his mind and manners the best culture of which they were otherwise capable. As men of my age remember him, he was venerable, grave, and gentlemanly, submissively fond of his wife, and sternly opposed to all seceders from Methodism. The respect universally felt for him did not prevent his friends from practicing on his good-nature. A brother asked him one day, "Who was the father of Zebedee's children?" Myles pondered well the question, and replied, "I believe it is not revealed." He died in 1828.

Robert Southey, in his *Life of Wesley*, has sketched, as only he could sketch, the life and character of GEORGE STORY. Himself a patient student, he knew how to prize the energy with which Story had tried, in early life, to emulate the various erudition of the murderer, Eugene Aram; an erudition recorded by authentic tradition before Bulwer wrote his wonderful tale, and Hood one of the most powerful compositions in the language. Coleridge, too, has speculated upon Story's case in two curious notes to Southey's narrative.\* But the

\* Of a man who moulded so many of the greatest minds of his time, and whose rich poetry haunts the ear with its delicious melody, and the heart with its mysterious pathos, one speaks with respectful modesty. But I recommend any who shall refer to the two notes in question to compare them one with the other, and both with Coleridge's own experience, as related by himself in *Gilman's Life of the philosopher and poet*, p. 245-254. His disciples can not hide, and it is very difficult to extenuate, the terrible history of their master's confessed slavery to a sensual vice. And who can discern, in the most fervent aspirations of Methodist piety, a higher or a truer standard (would that he had known how to aim at it!) than the misty critic of "Sinless Perfection" sets before the eye rather of his fancy than of his faith? It is time that some writer disposed of Coleridge's pretensions to expound the philosophy of religious emotion as clearly and as succinctly as Mr. Rigg has already dealt with his theological system. ("Modern Anglican Theology." London: A. Heylin, 1857.) Some interesting no-



laureate attempts in vain to clear Story from the charge of enthusiasm at the expense of other Methodists. Among all the developments of human thought and passion contained in the volumes consulted by Southey, there are none more peculiar than that which his favorite exhibits. Had the "Life of Wesley" been revised a second time, it is probable that Southey's truth-seeking spirit would have attained more perfectly its object. It is certain that, toward the close of his life, his generous, though still unworthy estimate of Wesley himself rose much higher, though the recent editor has not so informed the public. Was the Curate of Cockermouth ignorant of the fact, or does he retain prejudices reprov'd by the whole history of his father's opinions, and by the common sense and knowledge of the age?

I am indebted to my venerable friend, the Rev. Dr. Leifchild, for some wise and interesting notices of this period of my father's life, extracted from a paper of which farther use will be made.

"My recollections of Dr. Bunting," he writes, "carry me back to his first appearance, after his appointment to the London Circuit, in the pulpit of the Wesleyan Chapel in City Road. He was known in the provinces as a young preacher of great promise, and a more than ordinary curiosity was manifested to hear him on his coming to minister among us. Among us I say, for I was then a regular attendant at that place of worship, and a member of the Wesleyan Society. In person he was tall and slender, of a somewhat pale, but thoughtful and serious countenance, and dressed in the plain but neat attire of the Wesleyan ministers. He stood erect and firm in the pulpit, self-possessed and calm, but evidently impressed with the solemnity of what was before him. On announcing the hymn to be sung at the commencement of the service, and repeating it, verse by verse,\* we were struck by the clear and commanding tones of his voice; and, when he bowed his knees in prayer, such was the fervency of his strains, and the propriety, comprehensiveness, and scriptural character of his language, as to

times of Coleridge contained in Dr. Leifchild's Life of Joseph Hughes, of Battersea, are well worthy of perusal.

\* Dr. Leifchild doubtless means by two lines at a time. The mode he names has not yet received connectional sanction.

carry with him, to the throne of the Great Being whom he was addressing, the hearts and the understanding of the whole assembly. The sermon that followed was of the same character; short in the exordium, natural and simple in the division, and terse in style, but powerful in argument and appeal. There was little of action and less of pathos,\* but a flow of strong and manly sense, that held the audience in breathless attention till it came to a close.

“Such was Dr. Bunting’s first appearance in the pulpits of the metropolis, and such the commencement of his ministerial labors among us. After this I heard him frequently, following him from place to place where he ministered for the purpose, and was always both pleased and profited. I paid the closest attention to the matter of his discourse and to the style of its composition. I was charmed and delighted, while I was instructed. Never before had I heard such preaching. Other preachers, indeed, excelled him in some points, but none that I had ever heard equaled him as a whole. There was in him a combination of all the requisites of a good preacher, but in such equal proportion and happy adjustment that no one appeared prominent; nor was there any marked defect, to detract from the general excellence. It was not any thing profound or original in the matter that fixed the attention, but, like his great contemporary, Robert Hall, he clothed the well-known topics of discourse with a propriety and felicity of diction that gratified and instructed, without any of those startling conceptions and unheard-of illustrations which distinguish the addresses of the celebrated author of the ‘Essays,’ the late John Foster. The plans of his sermons surprised no one by their novelty or ingenuity, but were always most natural, and such as would have suggested themselves to any thoughtful mind, while the discourses themselves were such as partook of all the sermonizing peculiarities of the period. There were divisions and subdivisions, with formal exordiums and perorations, which yet were redeemed from every thing like tameness and insipidity by the distinctness and energy of the thoughts and expres-

\* This allusion to want of pathos somewhat surprises me. But my honored friend is describing impressions formed more than fifty years ago. Or, perhaps, a heart so full of evangelical tenderness was not easily satisfied with any expression of it.

sions. You saw no deep emotion in the speaker, no enthusiastic bursts of passion,\* nor brilliant strokes of imagination, but you perceived a marked attention riveted upon him while he spoke, which never flagged nor decreased in its intensity till he closed and sat down. I can not describe the cadences of his voice, which combined in it a sharpness and a sweetness that I have never met with in any other, and that yet dwells upon my ears.

"I ought not to omit to mention the beneficial results of his ministry. To many it was 'the power of God' to their 'salvation.' One of my own sisters was an instance of this. She afterward became as partial to him as I myself was, and received that blessing, through his instrumentality, which transformed her character and adorned her life until its peaceful and happy close.

"He could not but be aware of my frequent appearance among his auditors, and, on that account, favored me with his notice, often allowing me to walk home with him, after the services, to his own residence, and discoursing with me by the way in the most friendly manner. It was on one of these occasions that I ventured to inquire of him how he had attained to that remarkable readiness and accuracy in speaking which I, in common with many others, had so constantly observed. He replied that he was not aware of such facility and exactness; but that, if it were so, it must arise from a habit he had formed at a very early period of expressing himself on every topic, however trivial or common, in the fewest and most suitable terms he could find. Thus was produced one of his great peculiarities. He was never at a loss for a word exactly suited to the thought. I remember, on one occasion, accompanying some students for the ministry to hear him on a week-day evening, with a challenge to detect, if it were possible, such a discrepancy. On a comparison of notes afterward, it was found that not a single instance of the kind could be adduced.

"He showed great candor and liberality of feeling toward others of different sentiments from his own in all those matters of religious faith and practice that do not touch upon any thing essential or fundamental. As a proof of this, I may state that, of all his colleagues in the circuit at that time, he was the only

\* Again I suggest the qualifications mentioned in the last note.

one who did not take offense at some alteration in my views of doctrine and discipline, leading at length into a course of preparation for the ministry in another denomination. Instead of this, after hearing me once or twice in my early ministrations, he said to me in the kindest manner, 'From some of your sentiments and modes of expression, I judge you would be more happy in another connection than in ours, and equally useful; at which I should rejoice.' "

I gain a fuller insight into my father's daily thoughts and ways at this period than during any other portion of his early life. For some four or five months the lovers in London and in Macclesfield corresponded as lovers only do, and sent, each to the other, a diary of what happened. Most of the letters and journals are preserved, and I cull some extracts from those he wrote, interweaving with them extracts from other letters, and interposing here and there a passing comment. It may be assumed that he addresses his intended wife, unless the contrary be stated.

"*August 26th, 1803.* This morning I attended the meeting of all the London preachers, which is held at City Road every Saturday, to fix the plans of the ensuing week, to transact the incidental business of our own circuit, *and to give advice to any preachers from the country who choose to apply for it.*" The words which I have placed in italics suggest the idea of a central committee, of course, for counsel only, which the necessities of the connection then sanctioned, and which, I believe, never ceased, in one form or another, to occupy my father's mind. On the occasion of his election, for the third time, to the presidency, he formally requested that a Council of Advice might be appointed, to assist him, during the year, in the administration of connectional affairs, and to relieve him from individual responsibility.

"*Sunday Evening, August 28th.* At 7 o'clock A.M. I heard Mr. Taylor, at the City Road Chapel, from Micah, vi., 6. After preaching, several traveling and a great number of local preachers breakfasted together, according to custom; and, after consultation and prayer, we all proceeded to our respective appointments. What our local brethren in London are as preachers, I can not tell; but out of the pulpit they appear to great advantage indeed, as pious, sensible, and well-read men. I went



to Lambeth. I preached from 1 Peter, v., 7, with considerable comfort to myself, and, I humbly hope, with some profit to the people. I like very much the spirit and manners of the leading members of the Lambeth society, with whom I had some conversation before and after the service. I think I shall be quite charmed with the London Methodists when I can become more familiar with them. I believe it is one of my faults to form attachments too strong and tender for a man who is literally a sojourner only, and a pilgrim, as all his fathers were. However, if warm friendships have their pains, they have their peculiar pleasures also. This evening I have been at Queen Street. I preached from Acts, iii., 26, with much comfort and enlargement of mind. I was delighted to see so full an attendance afterward at the Society meeting. This is here just as it ought to be every where.

*“Monday Evening, August 29th.* I rambled for an hour among the booksellers’ shops in Paternoster Row, and at Baynes’s was overpowered by temptation. I spent all the money I had in my pocket, which fortunately was not much. I preached at Hoxton, not at all to my satisfaction, from Romans, viii., 2. What contributed, perhaps, to my embarrassment of mind was the unexpected presence of Mr. Rodda, and of Mr. Benson and his family. How completely are we dependent in preaching, as in every other duty, on the influence of the Holy One! My subject was one perfectly familiar to me, and my own mind was previously in a good and spiritual frame, but yet I wanted my usual liberty, because He who doeth all things well and wisely withheld, for some good reason, that special assistance which he often condescends to afford. Mr. Benson very importunately urges me to prepare, for insertion in the next January Magazine, an account of my conversion, experience, and entrance into the ministry; but, as this account would contain nothing new or out of the common way, and as I sincerely wish to avoid, rather than to court, publicity, I hope I shall be excused from such a task. There is, indeed, an old rule of Conference which requires it from the preachers who are admitted into full connection; but, as others have broken it, why may not I?

*“Tuesday, August 30th.* I quite enjoyed my retirement the former part of this day, and found it specially good to hold con-



verse with God. In praying for myself, for my dear S., for my kind friends at Manchester and Macclesfield, and for the prosperity of the good work in this city and circuit, I had more than usual access to God, and was greatly strengthened and refreshed. I was particularly led to implore the Divine forgiveness of all my sins of omission and commission as a man and as a minister while in the circuit I have lately left, and I believe that my prayer is heard, and that I am 'accepted in the Beloved.'

"*Wednesday Evening, August 31st.* I have preached at Queen Street to a large congregation from Hebrews, iv., 14. I afterward met the leaders, who are very numerous and respectable, in this part of the town. In such a leaders' meeting I never presided before. But Methodism here is, like every thing else, conducted on a large scale. They exceed all other societies I ever knew in the liberal provision they make for their poor.

"*Sunday Evening, September 4th.* My texts to-day have been the same as last Sunday. I had fixed on others, but, when I saw my congregation, I judged them unsuitable. In the pulpit I had no considerable enlargement of mind, but I hope, nevertheless, that something was said which may appear to praise, and honor, and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ. And now farewell to this Sabbath till the Day of Judgment! God be merciful to me, a sinner!

"*Monday Evening, September 5th.* This has been a day of much temptation and depression. O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me.

"*Wednesday Evening, September 7th.* This morning, after breakfast, I had my box and bags, etc., conveyed to City Road, where I have now taken up my abode. How soon I may be dislodged by death, God only knows. May I be prepared for every dispensation of Divine Providence! In this house, O Lord, give peace! May it be to me, and to all who are, or shall be, my fellow-tenants of it, none other than the house of God and the gate of Heaven! And may I be prepared more fully for the realms of bliss that are above! Truly, in one point, they treat us somewhat like apostles in this circuit; they work us tolerably hard. He that wants a quiet and easy life must not come hither to find it. I believe it will be utterly

impracticable to study much here, a circumstance still more unpleasant by far than the fatigue of our evening walks. The only science we shall have much time to cultivate will be that which consists in finding the way from one street, and chapel, and village to another. I have hitherto had no leisure at all to think of new texts, or even to mend many of my old nets, and am therefore obliged to preach on those subjects which happen to be at present most familiar to my mind.

*“Thursday Evening, September 8th.* I was so weary and drowsy this morning at 5 o'clock that, though I heard Mr. Taylor going out to preach, I had neither curiosity enough, nor piety enough, to rise and hear him. To-morrow I must be up, as it will be my own turn to conduct the early devotions of the sanctuary. The whole of the forenoon was spent with Mr. Taylor in meeting classes. At 4 P.M. I went to assist Mr. Benson in giving tickets in Little Tower Street, and at 6 P.M. at the New Chapel vestry, City Road. At 7, without much time for previous prayer or other preparation, I made my first appearance in the pulpit there. I was not violently shocked, though the congregation was very large, and Messrs. Benson, Rankin, Rodda, Dr. Whitehead, Dr. Hamilton, and other gentlemen of the same description composed a part of it. My text was 1 Peter, v., 7, which has, of late, become a favorite subject. This has been one of my best times as to freedom in public duty since I arrived in London. I hope I may regard this circumstance as a token for good. I afterward met the Bands, but was rather disappointed in my expectations from them. Such is the chronicle of this day's proceedings: how uninteresting to others, yet how important to myself, if considered in connection with my future account to the Judge of quick and dead!

*“Friday Evening, September 9th.* I was very unfortunate this morning. I did not rise, for I did not wake, after daylight appeared, until half past 5 o'clock. The man promised to call me at half past 4, but did not. I never before committed such a slothful blunder, sleeper as I am. However, it does not appear to have been of much consequence. They seem to have been accustomed to such disappointments for some years; so that, when Mr. Taylor preached yesterday, and informed them that they might expect me this morning, Mr. Lovelace, an old worn-

out barrister, could not help expressing his belief that 'now there would be a revival in London, for there had been little good done since the morning preaching had been discontinued, and that the abandonment of this practice was the true cause of the present war.' I counted the congregation as they came out (for they held a prayer-meeting), and found them just twenty-one; but this was an extraordinary number, nearly one half of whom were drawn to the chapel by their curiosity to hear the new preacher. Mr. Taylor could not scold me for my laziness, for he himself was overtaken in the same fault last Friday. Another week is now nearly gone; a week certainly of many mercies, but a week of much inward exercise and frequent dejection. O Lord, arise, help and deliver me, for Thy Name's sake.

"*September 10th.* I am sorry to hear that you experience such frequent depression of spirits. I am well qualified to sympathize with you. Ever since I became a preacher, I have been particularly harassed, at times, by an unaccountable, irresistible tendency to gloominess and dejection. I always find private prayer and reading the Scriptures on my knees the best remedy in my own case, and I earnestly recommend it to you. At the same time, let us strive to cast every care upon God, and to believe that he careth for us, and will order all things well. I can not but be pleased to hear that you have disposed of your gaudy cloak. Avoid 'the appearance of evil,' and 'give none offense, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God,' with two or three other Scriptural sentiments of like tendency, are maxims to which, I doubt not, you will endeavor to attend in the article of dress. Some of the London Methodists are by far too gay. Others are very plain. But, though a private individual may be lost in the surrounding crowd, a preacher's wife is as a city on a hill, that can not be hid.

"*Saturday Night, September 10th.* I returned from the city just in time for the Penitents' meeting at City Road. Mr. Taylor, Dr. Hamilton, and Mr. Rankin prayed, and I was then obliged, according to appointment, to ascend the pulpit and address the people. All the week I had looked forward to this engagement with fear and trembling, and I was very low when the time of action arrived. But I looked to the Strong for

strength, and got through better than I expected. I found it best to fix my mind on some particular subject, and selected 'The Marks or Fruits of true Conviction.' After all, I am satisfied that I have but little talent for this sort of general exhortation. This meeting is numerously attended by our most pious and intelligent friends, and a special unction from the Holy One appears to attend it.

"I am quite diverted by the comments which have been made on my first sermon at the New Chapel. One says it was a good sermon, but too labored, and that I study too much; another, that it was delivered with too much rapidity; a third, that there was too much use of Scriptural phraseology; a fourth, that there was rather too much animation of voice and manner; a fifth, that I shall suit London very well, for that I don't rant and rave in the pulpit, but am calm and rational. This whimsical diversity of opinions I have heard from different persons, chiefly preachers, to-day. I feel very indifferent to human censure or applause. The great point is to stand approved of God; to hear my Master say, 'Well done;' to give an acceptable answer to Him that sent me.'"

DR. JAMES HAMILTON, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and resident at this time in London, died in 1827, in the 87th year of his age. A sketch, by Kay of Edinburgh, of Joseph Cole, Hamilton, and Wesley, walking in the streets of that city, preserves the memory of a long and intimate friendship between the two last-named worthies. After having served as a surgeon in the Navy, and seen desperate fighting, Hamilton settled at Dunbar, and, as Henry Moore records, "joined the Methodist Society without separating from the National Church." "On his first marriage he not only made the day, in truth, a holy-day, but brought his bride with him to the prayer-meeting in the evening." He removed to Leeds, and eventually to the metropolis. He practiced not more as a physician than as a preacher and an evangelist. Two of his sons held commissions in a Highland regiment: one died in Egypt of a fever; the other, after exchanging regiments, and following Wellington through the Peninsula, was mortally wounded. "I speak," says Moore, "as little as possible of the advantages which he derived from the first Adam. To make 'a fair show in the flesh,' he well knew, was opposed to 'glo-



rying in the Cross of Christ,' and therein we were perfectly of one mind; but having mentioned some of those providential advantages, there is one which, I think, I ought not to omit; I mean his personal appearance, deportment, and manners, which would have adorned any rank in human society. These are gifts which call for the highest faithfulness, as they are eminently 'the savor of life or of death' to those who possess them, as well as to those concerning whom they are exercised, and especially in a religious community." "When he resided at Leeds," says the apostolic James Wood, "he attended in the vestry of the Old Chapel one day in every week, where the poor had full liberty to apply for his advice." I have seen him in the pulpit, tall, but with an habitual stoop; in a plaintive tone, and in unadulterated Scotch, pouring out his heart to God and man. The blessing of his life-long excellence rests manifestly upon his grandson, the Rev. James Parsons, of York.

Of the life of Rankin, another of the many trophies of Methodism in Scotland, his own account will be found in the third volume of "The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers."

"*Sunday Evening, September 11th.* At half past 10 I read prayers at Snowfields Chapel, in the Borough, and preached from 1 John, i., 9. I begin to feel a little more at home in the pulpits of the metropolis and its vicinity than I did when I first came. I dined with a Mr. Watson, near Rowland Hill's Chapel, Surrey Road. The congregation were just coming out as we passed the doors. What an immense crowd of gay people! But no wonder; Mr. Jay had been their preacher. I must contrive to hear him while he is in town. At 3 o'clock I began to give tickets at Rotherhithe. At 6 I preached there from Luke, xv., 2, and was enabled, as Mr. Wesley used to phrase it, to 'speak some strong, rough words.' After finishing the renewal of the tickets, I walked home; Mr. Taylor came a little after me; and says this has been the hardest day's work he has ever performed since he left Cornwall, many years ago. We tried to rouse each other by singing to Beaumont's tune, to which he is as partial as myself,

" 'O may Thy Spirit seal,' etc., \*

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"O may Thy Spirit seal  
Our souls unto that day;



but had not strength enough left to finish the verse. So we gave it up, and began to talk about Macclesfield. Well, all is right. 'Labor is rest, and pain is sweet,' for Him whom we have the honor to serve in the Gospel of His Son. My Sabbaths, though my most laborious days, are usually my best and happiest days. The service of God is its own immediate reward. Yet I have need to say, 'Pardon the iniquity of my holy things!'

"*Monday Evening, September 12th.* At 9 o'clock I went to Cateaton Street, but had only my labor for my pains. Returning by Guildhall, I stepped in and saw the lord-mayor, sheriffs, recorder, etc., open the Quarter Sessions. I heard one trial for a petty assault, which was not in itself at all interesting, but was rendered important by the subsequent circumstances. The witnesses for the prosecutor most explicitly and directly contradicted those for the defendant, so that, on one side or the other, there was the blackest perjury. This gave occasion, of course, to the counsel (Knapp and Pooley) to display their ingenuity, and they both spoke very ably. But how much more interesting and dignified is the eloquence of the pulpit than that of the bar!"

I am not sure that my father's comparison can be fairly instituted. Between such forensic oratory as that to which he listened and the genuine eloquence of the pulpit there is no relation except that of positive contrast, while, on the other hand, some sermons, in clearness of arrangement, lucidity of statement, earnestness of spirit, and continuous aim at a well-defined object, are immeasurably inferior to the speeches which are heard daily in courts of justice. I speak not of petty wranglings in criminal courts or at "*Nisi Prius*," but of the appeals addressed to juries on great occasions, and especially of those solemn argumentations with which astute lawyers, scholars, and logicians ply the quick but cautious intellects of judges on the bench. To me, who have conversed much with each kind of eloquence, it has often seemed that those modern preach-

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With all Thy fullness fill,  
And then transport away!  
Away to our eternal rest,  
Away to our Redeemer's breast!"

WESLEY'S *Collection*, p. 477.

ers who make it their study to tickle "itching ears," might gain much if they cultivated the simplicity of speech without which no man rises to high distinction at the English bar. We perplex ourselves greatly with the question why the pulpit, with its long-established hold upon the superstition of the ignorant and upon the reverence of the good, and with its various range of momentous topics, makes an impression so comparatively small upon the masses with which it deals. Beardless sciolists and bold adventurers try to revive and increase the popular interest in preaching by degrading its dignity and by secularizing its sacred themes, while multitudes of well-meaning clergy, of all schools within the Establishment, and of all sects out of it, by some conventional mannerism of style or of delivery, or by the constant effort to produce startling effects, or by vapid pretinences of phrase and figure, expect to storm the consciences of sinful men, and to frighten or to cheat them into piety. None of these artifices will succeed. They are very ancient novelities. The common people have always distrusted them; and plain sense nowadays stares, and asks why an honest man should vulgarize the great thought of God, or search for thoughts more true and telling; or why, because the preacher stands some six feet higher than his usual level, he should assume unnatural attitudes, speak in a false voice, gesticulate in a manner which, if used at home, would scare his loving household; or, worse than all, attempt to woo dying sinners with the story of the dying Savior, in the modes practiced by a clever mountebank extemporizing at a country fair. A marked and constant *simplicity*—the test of *sincerity* in the pulpit; the manifestation of the truth, with manifest truthfulness of purpose—this of itself would do much to excite the spirit of hearing. The advocate at the bar is intensely sincere. He means to gain the cause; and so it is his prime business *to be believed*; and the wish breathes in every look and word. How would the cool-headed judge survey him through the detecting eye-glass, if every gesture, tone, and sentence were altogether unlike the man who used them! "Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown."

"*Friday Evening, Sept. 16th.* If I must give a true and faithful account of the manner in which this day has been spent, I must say that it has been almost wholly occupied in going from place to place, to make calls of business and calls of friend-

ship. I went, first of all, to deliver a letter from a friend in Manchester to a sister of hers in Rathbone Place, Oxford Street. This poor woman had buried her husband only yesterday; and I spent a profitable half hour in comforting and praying with her. 'It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting.' Then to St. Martin's Lane, to see an old acquaintance of my father and mother. He came originally from the same place with them (Monyash, in the Peak of Derbyshire), and is now a local preacher among us. I had not much personal knowledge of him, but remembered that precept of Solomon, 'Thy own, and thy father's friend, forsake not.' Then to Mr. Bruce's, in Aldersgate Street, where I dined and took tea. This is a most agreeable family, and we had much pious, rational, and improving conversation. Then to Mr. Bulmer's, in Friday Street. This gentleman is a very leading man in the society. I had several times seen him and Mrs. B. in Lancashire. I suppose the petition from this circuit for me was sent chiefly at his instance. Such have been some of my peregrinations this day. I returned in time to begin the prayer-meeting at City Road. There were many people, and much of the spirit of prayer. I am more and more charmed with the piety and fervency of Dr. Hamilton. His prayer to-night would, I think, have affected and softened even an infidel, at least for the time. Though I do not know that I could, with propriety, have avoided any of the visits I have made to-day, yet I own that I review them with some degree of dissatisfaction. I regret the time thus unnecessarily consumed, and hope I shall not soon again be compelled to rob my study and my books of so many leisure hours. I find that the bed which now stands in my room is that formerly occupied by Mr. Wesley when he was in London, and on which he finished his triumphant course. This circumstance, small as it is, affords to me, who am '*a bigoted Methodist*,' considerable pleasure. I feel it an honor, of which I am unworthy, to be Mr. Wesley's successor in any thing.

"*Wednesday Morning, Sept. 21st.* I am unfortunate as to the morning preaching. I was up in time, but, when I came to the doors, found them so variously and so curiously locked, barred, and chained, that I could not, for the life of me, open any one of them. In order to save my character and credit, I called

through the gates to Dr. Hamilton, who was waiting my appearance, and desired him to begin the service. At length the servant came down and set me at liberty. I began preaching to eight persons, and, when I concluded, could muster only thirteen. My text was Psalm lvii., 1. The preacher and his sermon, dull as they were, were apparently not more dull than most of his audience. However, Dr. Hamilton prayed most sweetly when I had done, and this well repaid me. I am glad to have so good an account of your habitual frame and state of mind. Your prosperity, spiritual as well as temporal, I most ardently desire, and daily pray for to the God of all grace. Your chief danger, I think, arises from your natural vivacity. This is in itself a great blessing, but it may degenerate into a source of mischief and danger. Give yourself, my very dear S., to much prayer, and learn, by habits of fellowship with God, to be 'never less alone than when alone.' I have reproached myself for speaking in my last too strongly about your preceding letter. I forgot, at the moment, that you were writing *to me*, and indulged yourself, on that account, in a degree of playfulness which you would not have allowed under other circumstances. But we are both so prone to err on that side that we shall do well to be on our guard. You know I am no cynic, no advocate for '*sour godliness*,' as Mr. Wesley terms it; but I desire not to be found a *trifler*. We may laugh away in five minutes that spirituality and heavenly-mindedness which we may weep whole days and weeks before we fully regain. I think you will not be displeased by the freedom which I have used on this subject. I shall be thankful to receive from you any cautions and advices which you think I need. Watch over me in love, and prove yourself, by telling me of all that you think is wrong in me, a faithful friend.

" *Wednesday Evening, September 21st.* After finishing my letters, I hastened to St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard Street, and had the pleasure of seeing and hearing, for the first time, the rector, Mr. Newton, 'venerable in virtues as in age.' He appears to be quite worn out, and tottering over the brink of the grave. His text was, 'Rejoice the soul of Thy servant.' There was nothing particularly interesting in his sermon, except as viewed in connection with the character and circumstances of the preacher. I love to hear old ministers. In the



evening I preached at Stratford from 1 Peter, iii., 15. I have traveled like a gentleman to-day. I mounted the Stratford stage at Whitechapel, as I went, and as I was about to return I met with a London chaise, and rode in it within half a mile of home. Thus I have saved my shoes and my bones at the expense of my cash. However, it cost me but eighteen pence, and I do not intend to be often so idle or so extravagant.

*“Thursday, September 22d.* This day has furnished no incident that deserves recording here. Yet what a serious consideration is it that every incident and occurrence of it is recorded in another place, and will be produced for me, or against me, at the last day! I had a holiday from preaching this evening, and heard Mr. Taylor, at City Road, from ‘Hope maketh not ashamed.’ My mind was strangely and unusually disposed to wander. This I can not well account for, as I had been favored with considerable access to God in the course of the day, and am not wont to find much difficulty in fixing my attention on any subject to which I wish to listen. ‘Pardon, O Lord, the iniquity of my holy things.’

*“Friday Evening, September 22d.* This morning I rose very early, and finished my letters. I next indulged myself with a half hour’s lounge in the booksellers’ shops. The Dissenting ministers, I perceive, are quite before us Methodists in publications designed to stimulate the people to engage in the active defense of the country. Messrs. Hughes, Cooper, Fuller, and many others of them, have published sermons with that view, preached to their respective congregations. From Stationers’ Court I went to Surrey Chapel, and heard a sort of lecture from Mr. Jay. He was not so animated nor so brilliant as when I heard him before, but very instructive and impressive. Few preachers are able to extort tears from me; but he conquered me, and dissolved me into tenderness while enlarging on the character and sufferings of the Apostle Paul. When I hear such preaching as Mr. Jay’s, I am always ashamed of myself, and wonder that the people should ever like to listen to my poor swashy\* sermons. I feel I am too declamatory in my mode of preaching. I want more weight and solidity. However, while I am humbled, I am roused, and see the necessity of increasing diligence, that I too, by the blessing of God, may

\* *“To swash, v. n., to make a great clatter or noise.”—JOHNSON.*



become in due time 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed.' "

*September 23d*, my father writes to Mr. Wood, "The long evening walks are indeed productive of considerable fatigue, but they become more easy by custom, and hitherto my strength seems to increase in proportion to the increase of my work. What will be the state of my health in the winter, I can not tell. At present I bless God I am quite well, and, if it please Divine Providence to continue to me this mercy, I shall not mind the fatigue. It is my lot, and I believe always will be, to preach the Gospel 'in much weariness;' weariness in the service, not of it. We have no particular news either in the political or the religious world, excepting, indeed, that we have just received accounts from Gibraltar that some of our pious soldiers in that garrison are suffering grievous persecution for attending Methodist preaching *when not on duty*. Two of them, for this only crime, have received two hundred lashes; and one, who was a corporal, is also reduced to the ranks. At the time our intelligence came away, another of our brethren was under sentence of five hundred lashes. This matter is likely to be very seriously taken up by several gentlemen in London, since such military tyranny is completely illegal. In Jamaica, also, they continue to pass and enforce penal laws against us. If the government here wink at these attacks upon religious liberty, I shall begin to fear for the safety of the country. God will avenge His Church on all her oppressors, wherever He find them."

"*Saturday Night, September 24th*. I was in time to deliver my packet in Cateaton Street,\* and to take tea at Mr. Hovatt's, in Bishopsgate Street. Several preachers were present, and our party was pleasant and profitable. I was reprov'd sharply for my taciturnity (a crime into which, I fear, I am not apt to fall), and required to contribute my share to the conversation in terms which made me feel extremely awkward and foolish. The Penitents' meeting is the best public ordinance I attend. It was good for me, and for many, this night, to be there. Mr. Benson concluded it by speaking very closely on the marks of

\* The packets intended for my mother were, by Mr. Ryle's considerate kindness, forwarded in his parcels of goods to Macclesfield. His London warehouse was in the street named.

sincere conversion. One of the marks he mentioned was ‘an earnest desire to avoid every thing which may furnish occasion or suggest temptation to sin.’ Under this head he said some strong things to the ladies about gay and costly apparel, the wearing of which, he insisted, rendered their conversion suspicious, because it exposes them to the temptation of pride and self-complacency; which tempers, if sincere, they would not cherish, but resist. I did not know that I had sent you the London plan. I will inclose the new one, which I have this moment received from the press. I see they have given me far more than my share of the work in the New Chapel. This is kindly meant, but I would rather have had only my own turns.

“*Sunday Evening, Sept. 25th.* Mr. Rankin preached this morning from Psalm xxv. At our breakfast meeting which followed, a Mr. Ringelhauben, from Germany, was introduced. He is come to England for the purpose of being shortly sent abroad, under the patronage of the Society for Missions in Africa and the East. I venerate greatly the zeal and piety of those who thus abandon their country and friends in order to evangelize the heathen. When I look at their sacrifices and exertions, I feel utterly ashamed of myself. However, some must stay in garrison, while others carry offensive war into the territories occupied by the enemy; and, on the whole, I do not doubt that I am where God would have me to be. Mr. R. very modestly requested that he might be appointed to some of our country chapels; but I took him with me to Spitalfields, and published him there for the afternoon. God bless him! I love him for his work’s sake. I spent most of the afternoon alone, being too tired, and too anxious about my own work at Queen Street in the evening, to go to any place of worship. I was a good deal perplexed about my Charity-sermon text, being divided between Gal., vi., 9, and Dent., xxix., 29, the only passages I had before used on like occasions. At length I fixed on the latter. I have never been so fluttered by the sight of a congregation as I was for about half an hour after I entered the pulpit. After a while I forgot my fears and embarrassments, and spoke with considerable freedom. I am heartily glad that it is all over. Thus one Sabbath passes after another in rapid succession; my last will soon arrive. Though I certainly have now more ties to earth than I formerly had, I still

feel that it can not arrive too soon, if it do but find me ready. Exhausted in body and mind, I lay me down to rest, ashamed and disgusted with myself, but very thankful to God for the comforts I enjoy. Good-night to all the world!"

Dr. Percival writes to my father under date of

"September 26th, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR,—To your very affectionate letter I have only time to make a short reply. But few words are necessary to express the steady and cordial attachment which I retain, and shall through life retain, for you. I rejoice that you have the prospect of a happy settlement in London, where you can not fail to enjoy numerous opportunities of improvement. The work of Dr. Magee on Atonement shall be delivered to your sister, to be forwarded to you for the use of your friend. It may be returned during the course of next month. I am in daily expectation of a visit from Dr. Magee, and shall state to him the particulars you mention. I believe his book is out of print in Dublin as well as in London. He is at present so much occupied with his Discourses on the Prophecies as not to have leisure for a new edition of the treatise on Atonement. He means to revise the whole, and will, probably, convert the long notes into separate dissertations. I thank you for your kind attention to my commission respecting Eden on Punishment. Pray continue to keep it in view, but do not give yourself much trouble about it. My whole family unite in the kindest regards to you, with your sincerely affectionate friend and servant,

THOMAS PERCIVAL."

Inclosed in this letter I find a slip of paper addressed to Miss Bunting:

"Be so good as to offer my most affectionate respects to your brother, with my best thanks for his very acceptable and obliging present. The third edition of 'Penal Law' is the last, and that which I wanted. Lord Auckland informs me that his bookseller could nowhere meet with a copy. Your brother has, therefore, been fortunate in his search. Yours, T. P."

"*Monday Evening, September 26th.* I have had a long and  
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pleasant conversation with Mr. Butterworth, one of our leading men, who says the London people (meaning, I suppose, himself and his particular friends) have not been for many years so satisfied with their appointment of preachers, as a whole, as they are this year. I consider acceptance, as well as success, to be the gift of God, and am, therefore, thankful for my share of it. But it will be well if they are profited as much as they say they are pleased. Mr. Butterworth tells me he has in his mind a project for raising a complete theological library, to be appropriated to the use of the preachers in London. He says he can easily secure a few hundred pounds, once for all, to be applied to the purchase of it. Such a scheme, however honorable to the proposer, is not so necessary, and would not be so useful here as in country circuits. There is scarcely a book of established merit which may not be borrowed in London from some of our friends, and we have but little time for those regular, close, and systematic studies which render the privilege of consulting large libraries so valuable. On my way home I again stepped into St. Paul's. What an astonishing pile of architecture! But the chanting of the prayers is very bad. I have witnessed many extravagances in the prayer-meetings, etc., of the persons called Revivalists among us, but I never saw or heard any thing there so irreverent, so irrational, so unscriptural as these proceedings in St. Paul's. The clergy of the Establishment have no right to throw stones at us for tolerating Ranterism while such things are practiced by themselves in their own cathedrals." [My father is speaking of the careless and often profane services of former days.] "We have had a very busy afternoon. In order to expedite the business of the Quarterly meeting, it is the custom for the steward to meet the preachers a few days before, and to receive and pay all the moneys from them or to them in private, so that at the public meeting the accounts are only read and audited. This plan is a good one. It leaves more time for interesting and useful conversation. Our business was concluded but just in time for me to run to Snowfields, where I preached from Acts, iii., 26, and met the leaders. I have not lost a minute, yet it is now 11 o'clock, and I have promised to preach in the morning at 5 o'clock.

"*Tuesday Evening, Sept. 27th.* After a very sleepless night,



full of tossings to and fro, I rose between 4 and 5 o'clock, and preached from Romans, viii., 2. I again began my sermon to eight persons, and again mustered thirteen at the conclusion. This seems to be the *ne plus ultra*, beyond which the attractions of my morning eloquence can not avail. I view this service as a work of complete supererogation. Mr. Taylor is resolved that he will not engage in it more than once a week, and advises me to be like-minded. None of the other traveling preachers will attend; so that it is the tax which *we* have to pay for living in the episcopal palace and occupying headquarters. The leaders' meeting resolved a few weeks ago that it should be given up, and converted into a prayer meeting; but, to gratify the prejudices of two or three, it is continued. However, it is not in vain humbly to wait upon God. At 6 o'clock P.M. I preached to a goodly company at Bow from Acts, xiii., 38, 39, being particularly requested to speak on the subject of Justification. A gentleman, whose name is Buttress,\* and who lives in Spitalfields, had offered me his company, which, of course, I accepted, and was glad that I did. I found him an agreeable and intelligent fellow-traveler. He tells me that, during the three years of Mr. Adam Clarke's residence in London, he was his almost constant attendant. Mr. Clarke used to call him his satellite, and very justly, for he walked with him six thousand miles, heard him preach nine hundred sermons (eight hundred and ninety-eight of which were from different texts), and supped with him, after their evening excursions (either at Mr. Clarke's or at his own house), about six hundred times. Mr. Buttress is a good deal connected with the evangelical ministers of the metropolis in the Church and out of it, and gave me more information about them than any person I had before met with.

“*Wednesday, September 28th.* I have not been out of the house to-day. I read the second part of Huntington's ‘Bank of Faith.’ Whatever be this gentleman's talents, I fear his spirit is not that of the Bible or of Christ. He boasts too much, and manifests something which I can not distinguish from pride and culpable levity. But perhaps I am mistaken. 'Tis well that I wrote my letters yesterday, for I am not capa-

\* For fifty-five years a much esteemed friend of my father, and still surviving.



ble of very close application to-day. My head aches sadly, and my spirits are low. 'Is any afflicted? let him pray.' O Lord, let Thy Spirit help my infirmities, and support the feebleness of my mind!

"*Thursday Evening, September 29th.* I spent an hour this forenoon in examining the contents of Mr. Wesley's library. The title of one volume could not but attract my notice under present circumstances: 'A Treatise on the Cumbers and Troubles of Marriage; intended to advise *them that may*, to *shun* them; *them that may not*, well and patiently to *bear* them.' If I had a little more leisure, perhaps I might give this book a perusal; for, though the first piece of advice comes now too late for me to follow, probably I may some time stand in need of the second.

"*Friday Evening, September 30th.* My mind to-night is more than usually affected by a sense of the mercy and forbearance of my God toward me. I am greatly encouraged to hope in Him; greatly ashamed of my proneness to wander; and greatly desirous to set out afresh in the path of entire devotedness to His service.

" 'O Thou who kill'st and mak'st alive,  
To me Thy quickening power impart;  
Thy grace convey; Thy work revive;  
Retouch my lips; renew my heart;  
Forth, with a new commission, send;  
And all Thy servant's steps attend.'

"*Saturday Noon, October 1st.* The preachers do not meet this week, so I have had the forenoon to myself—a great privilege. I am quite at a loss what text to fix upon for to-morrow evening. In this respect, also, it is needful to implore Divine influence, that we may be guided aright."

*October 1st, 1803.* Mr. Entwisle writes to him, "We hope for better days in Macclesfield. Two regulations have lately taken place, which, if properly attended to, will be useful. We have agreed to have a leaders' meeting once a month for spiritual conversation, etc. Last Friday but one was the first. Most of the brethren were present. I spoke to every individual, and closely examined them on the subject of private prayer. The following questions were proposed to each: 1. 'Do you make a point of retiring for secret prayer once or twice a day, be-

sides morning and evening devotion?" This we all thought to be a duty and a privilege, unless something extraordinary happened to render it impossible. 2. 'Do you not only inculcate the duty upon your members, but individually inquire if they perform it?' If we can persuade leaders and people to much secret prayer, we shall soon find the good effects of it. I find some of the leaders were not very strict in their inquiries, and it has been found that some, from whom better things were expected, have lived in the partial, if not general neglect of that important duty. We are in reality just what we are before God in secret. 'The secret acts of men, if noble, are far the noblest of their lives.' The other thing alluded to is a plan for the recovery of backsliders. A number of our brethren have agreed to lay themselves out to reclaim the wanderers. The town is divided into districts; two or three visitors in each district. These intend to visit them, pray with them, and bring them to the means of grace; and, when they are judged in a proper state to be readmitted, to recommend them to meet with their former leaders. The brethren who have engaged in this labor of love are to meet the preacher once a fortnight, after Sunday-morning preaching, in order to bring their report and receive advice. It certainly is a good design, whatever it may produce. I know you will join me in praying, 'O Lord, send now prosperity!'"

"*October 1st.* Amid all, let us try, my best beloved, to be increasingly attentive to the one great business of life—preparation for eternity. This world, with all its connections and enjoyments, must shortly pass away. Our existence here, though justly compared to a shadow, is introductory to a state of the most substantial happiness or misery, that shall abide forever. 'Seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of Him in peace, without spot, and blameless.' Let us redeem the time from unnecessary intercourse with the world for the purpose of walking with God, and conversing with our Father who is in heaven. Let us cultivate the true spirit of prayer. If it will suit you, I find that I can generally set apart the hour between seven and eight o'clock in the morning for meeting you at the footstool of our common Friend. I trust His Providence has made us acquainted, and that He will afford all needful direction as to

every thing which concerns our future conduct and happiness. Let us importunately and believingly claim His promise—‘In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths.’ I dined with Mr. and Mrs. Meredith, of Bishopsgate Street. Mr. and Mrs. and two Misses Rutherford, with Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, were of the party, which was more pleasant than I expected. Miss Meredith and Miss Rutherford are musically inclined, and entertained Mr. Taylor by playing and singing. He desired them to sing a favorite Scotch air in the words of one of our hymns. They wished to retain the words of a love-song, to which the music originally belonged, and asked him whether he saw any harm in those words. His answer, I think, deserves recording, as the maxim it contains will apply to a thousand similar instances: “My children, you do well to inquire, in the first place, Is there any harm in it? But, if this first question be answered in the negative, still there is a second inquiry to be made, which must be answered in the affirmative before your use of that song can be justified, Is there any good in it?”

“*Sunday Evening, October 2d.* I read prayers at Wapping this forenoon (making, I believe, but one blunder\*), and preached from Romans, viii., 2, which I had no thought of doing before; but, while I was in the desk, I felt a strong inclination to fix upon it; and, supposing that the impulse might possibly be Divine, I yielded, though with some hesitation, resulting from my having so frequently spoken upon this passage of late. I had a very good time.

“At the New Chapel in the evening, my text was 1 Timothy, i., 18. This chapel, when crowded, is, I fear, too large for me. The necessary exertion of my voice quite overstrained it, and I spoke painfully to myself, and probably not very pleasantly to the ears of others. It was not one of my happiest efforts in the preaching way. But perhaps God saw it right to punish me by withholding the wonted aids, in some measure, for the want of that entire simplicity and singleness of eye which would have made me somewhat less solicitous than I was about my first appearance in the Sunday evening congregation.

\* The reading of the morning service was a novelty to him. In Oldham and in Macclesfield the engagements at the chapel were still conducted as supplementary to those of the Church of England.

Exhausted as I am, I can procure no substitute for the morning; so I must say good-night, and go to rest, that I may wake in time.

*“Monday Evening, October 3d.* Rest I could get but very little of last night, and I lay awake long enough before the time of preaching. At 5 o’clock I went into the vestry, and found not a soul present. By-and-by three persons appeared. By the time I had sung twice and prayed, four more arrived. As I did not find my mind in preaching cue, I read to them the Sermon on the Mount, and expounded a few passages as I proceeded; and good Dr. Hamilton concluded. People in general are much more alarmed about an invasion than heretofore. I hear the Jews in London are forming themselves into a Volunteer Company, a circumstance without a parallel. Their high-priest, also, has compiled a prayer specially adapted to the present exigence, which is to be used in all their synagogues.

“The ‘Christian Observer’ has of late months taken several opportunities to attack the Wesleyan Methodists as schismatics and enthusiasts. What they say in that work this month about our late minute against women preaching has some weight. More stress ought to have been laid on what I judge to be the express prohibition of that practice by St. Paul. But their vague insinuations in another article about our enthusiastic pretenses to inspiration, etc., are unmanly. Mr. Benson strongly urges me to draw up a short defense of our general character and doctrines against these insinuations for insertion in our Magazine. They deserve a little lashing; but let not my hand be upon them! Mr. Rutherford is very kind and affectionate toward me. He has not forgotten our former acquaintance in Manchester. To me he was very useful, almost at the commencement of my religious life. My turn to-night was Hoxton, but, to oblige Mr. Benson, I took his place at Queen Street, and preached from Jer., viii., 22. Messrs. Myles and Rutherford, who sat exactly opposite to me, rather embarrassed my proceedings. After preaching I met the band-leaders, as customary once a month, to examine their band-papers, to admit new members, etc. Those who meet in Band in London all pay something weekly, as in their classes, which is received from the leaders at these meetings by an officer called the ‘band-steward,’ and distributed by him to the poor. At



6 o'clock, my friend Mr. Blackburne, from Saddleworth, and a London minister of the name of Atkinson (who is a tutor in Hoxton Academy), called on me according to appointment, and we went together to hear Mr. Huntington in Monkwell Street. I was considerably disappointed. He is not so much of the orator, nor was he so much to-night of the rank Antinomian as I expected. I see nothing in his manner that accounts for his amazing celebrity, and am more and more convinced that, of all contemptible things, popular panegyric is one of the most contemptible, and oftener misapplied than deserved. Mr. Huntington has great readiness in quoting Scripture, and, in the course of a long sermon, brought forward much sound and valuable divinity, mixed with very little froth, and not delivered with much animation. I now almost wish I had heard Mr. Jay instead, though I by no means think that my time has been uselessly employed. I was invited to sup with Mr. Blackburne at the house of Mr. Wilson, in Finsbury Place, a gentleman of great influence among the Evangelical Dissenters. Seldom have I spent an hour so agreeably or more edifying. Though I am firmly attached to Wesleyan Methodism as the system of doctrines and of discipline, which I think is, as a whole, more scriptural and primitive than any other now existing; yet there is not, I believe, a man upon earth who more sincerely venerates than I do the image of God in persons of different sentiments and denominations, or who more readily embraces in Christian affection good men of all descriptions. And this catholic charity I feel to be perfectly consistent with my own peculiar attachments and predilections.

*“Wednesday Evening, Oct. 5th.* The whole of this forenoon was spent in my study, chiefly in my accustomed devotional exercises. I feel that I should be culpably wanting in gratitude to Him from whom all blessings flow if, in recording this day's incidents, I omitted to mention the unusual profit and pleasure which resulted from my private approaches to Him this morning. I felt the word to be most precious, and His favor to be better than life, and had more than wonted enlargement of heart while engaged in intercession for the world, the Church, the Methodist connection, the cirenits I have left, and that in which I now am, and for various friends and beloved connections, on whose account God forbid that I should ever cease to pray.



*"Saturday Evening, October 8th.* It fell to my lot to-night to exhort at the Penitents' meeting. I could procure no substitute, and therefore reluctantly attempted it. I had very little freedom or comfort in speaking. I addressed myself chiefly to those persons who are not so thoroughly awakened as to produce that seeking of the Lord 'with the whole heart' which is necessary in order to our finding Him; whose penitence is sincere so far as it goes, but not sufficiently deep, lively, and habitual.

*"Sunday, October 9th.* At 10 I read prayers, as usual, at Spitalfields, and preached to a large congregation from 1 Peter, iii., 15. I had resolved not to dine out to-day, but was persuaded to return home with Mrs. Hovatt, under the idea that I might have as much retirement there as in my own room. We found, however, several friends, one of whom, Miss —, a very young but very sermon-loving lady, I was glad to accompany to Eastcheap Chapel, to hear Mr. Clayton. I had heard, from good judges, the highest character of Mr. Clayton's talents as a preacher, and I was not disappointed. There is something wonderfully pleasing to me in his manner. It is easy, serious, dignified, and highly impressive. His elocution is animated and manly, but very different from the florid, tinsel oratory which distinguishes many of those who are called popular preachers. Mr. Clayton is popular indeed, but not among the populace. In his matter to-day there was nothing new or uncommon. The subject was the duty of confidence in God in the present perilous times. But any thing said by Mr. Clayton is said so well as to become striking and interesting. I am more and more convinced that my character in the pulpit is too much that of a declaimer, and too little that of the Christian preacher; but 'Rome was not built in a day.' I must try to be more weighty and solid. Mr. Clayton, as a parent, is highly honored of God. He has two sons already in the ministry, and another at Hoxton Academy, who is likely to be as great an honor to it as his brothers and father. After all, I like our own system and people best. If others have more brilliant displays of talent in their assemblies, I think we have, in general, most of the spirit of true and lively devotion."

With the son then at the academy, the Rev. John Clayton, who, since 1803, has commenced and completed a ministerial

course of great honor and success, for which he still lives to be grateful, my father afterward formed a cordial friendship. The three brothers have all been known as refined English gentlemen, effective preachers, and devout and catholic Christians; of a school which, by its steadfast loyalty to the old theology, and to those essential principles of Protestant Nonconformity which modern politics have, perhaps, tended somewhat to obscure, long retained the Puritan hold upon the middle order of society in this country. Far distant be the day when that hold shall be weakened. It is not probable that the last century will repeat itself, or that the Dissenting Churches, were they unhappily to become unevangelical or torpid, would be again informed with the vital spirit of an unsectarian Methodism. Congregationalism must now keep its own adherents by the means which won them. If it fail to do so, I fear that neither our own community, nor the Establishment, with all its new and active forces, will collect them again into the common fold. Dissenters, in large numbers, have come to regard the Church of England as an enemy, and our refusal to cherish the same feeling has made us more or less odious in their eyes, and thus prejudices have been formed against both Churchmen and Methodists which might thwart our best-intended efforts. That "there is room for us all" is a small concession. The world can not do without any of us. "Abram said unto Lot, 'Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me;'" and Lot "chose him all the plain of Jordan." They parted because their very union-gendered strifes, and because the goodly land found plentiful pasturage for both. Our case but partially resembles theirs. Our divisions (not necessarily "unhappy") must continue; for attempts at uniformity imbitter, if they do not create differences; but the plain lies before us "as Sodom, and like unto Gomorrah." O that the "very small remnant" would spread itself all over the wild and wasted wilderness, toiling in its several detachments until the desert become as the garden of the Lord—none of us with either heart or time for contention!

## CHAPTER XI.

EARLY MINISTRY IN LONDON—*Continued.*

Farther Extracts from Diary.—The Persecutions in Jamaica and at Gibraltar.—Mr. Fennell. — James Lackington. — Henry Foster.—Benson and the Christian Observer. — George Burder. — Dr. Steinkopff. — Joanna Southcote.—First recorded missionary Sermon.—Prospects of National Invasion.—Richard Cecil.—State of Methodism in London.—Last Letter before his Marriage.—Ordinary Duties in the Study and the Pulpit, and among the Flock.

I RESUME the extracts from the journals and correspondence of this period.

“*Tuesday Evening, October 11th.* This day I hoped to enjoy uninterrupted retirement, but had scarcely entered upon my work when I was obliged to quit it in order to accompany Messrs. Taylor, Benson, Butterworth, and Allan to meet Mr. Hardeastle and Mr. Reyner, two leading members of the [London] Missionary Society, on the Jamaica and Gibraltar businesses. After reading various documents from the parties concerned, and also a letter from Mr. Wilberforce containing his advice, the gentlemen agreed to take up the two cases separately, and to make two distinct applications for relief. The Jamaica affair is to be brought on first, and Messrs. Allan and Butterworth are to draw up a memorial respecting it, to be presented to the king in council, stating the inconsistency of the persecuting law lately passed there with the spirit of the Constitution and with the rights of British subjects, describing the imprisonments, etc., which our missionaries and others have suffered in consequence of it, and praying his majesty to refuse his royal sanction to it. In this application the Wesleyan Methodists are likely to be joined by the several missionary societies of London and Edinburgh, both of the Establishment and out of it, so that there probably will be a sufficient combination of influence to secure its success. In the Gibraltar affair there is more difficulty. From several circumstances, there appears to be a systematic intention and desire to prevent the spread of

truth and piety in the army. Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Thornton are somewhat timid; Mr. Hardeastle hesitates, and fears nothing can be accomplished. Our friends, however, are resolved to attempt something. The mode of application is not determined. Probably they will try to get the ear of the king himself by means of Lord Castlereagh. It was four o'clock before we got home from the meeting. On my return I witnessed an incident which greatly affected me. A pious clergyman, from the vicinity of Newbury, had called to see me. While waiting my arrival, a letter had been brought to him from a friend in his neighborhood, informing him that at a meeting held in his house by some Methodists, on Monday evening, according to custom (since he left home), his wife had found peace with God, and was filled with joy in believing. Mr. Fennell\* (for that is the clergyman's name) was quite over-

\* This Mr. Fennell must not be confounded with him of that name whose niece, or rather whose wife's niece, was Charlotte Brontë's mother. Every body is tired of correcting the mistakes and indiscretions of the daughter's clever but random biographer, else she might be informed that the Mr. Fennell of whom she writes was a Methodist local preacher at the time Miss Branwell was married to Mr. Brontë, and she might be asked by what anachronism in taste she ventures to speak of "the fanaticism of a Whitefield." At the time of Mr. Brontë's marriage, Mr. Fennell, although not a minister, was the house-governor and one of the tutors of the Wesleyan school for ministers' children at Woodhouse Grove, near Bradford, in Yorkshire, and from that place the happy pair proceeded to the wedding, the bride borrowing a white lace veil for the occasion, because part of her garniture had been lost on its passage by sea. Subsequently Mr. Brontë acted, more than once, as classical examiner at the same establishment. My uncle, Mr. Fletcher, was engaged there as head master during Mr. Fennell's residence. Miss Branwell belonged to the Methodist family of the Carnes, of Penzance, the latest representative of which, Joseph Carne, F.R.S., was distinguished yet more by his steady piety and uniform attachment to the Church in which he was trained than by his attainments in science, and by his high general position in his native county. John Carne, his brother, a man of accomplished mind, a very elegant writer, and a devoted Wesleyan, became well known to the world of literature some thirty years ago by his "Letters from the East" and by other publications. A set of the Methodist Magazines from the commencement formed part of Miss Branwell's marriage dowry, and, doubtless, awoke Charlotte Brontë's love of the marvelous, and kindled into a flame the latent fire of her genius. I can imagine her reading the story of Earl Ferrers, and poring over the engraving of my lord the murderer just cut down from the gallows, and placed in his coffin. I am bound to add that my uncle always spoke of Mr. Brontë in terms of



whelmed as he read the letter. Indeed, he could not finish the reading of it himself, but desired Mr. Taylor to read it to him. I never saw a man so bedewed with tears of joy. 'Ever since my own conversion,' said he, 'I have been praying, night and day, that God would also bring my dear wife into the way of peace, and now how strangely has He answered my prayers during my absence from home! I am more overjoyed by this intelligence than I should have been by the receipt of a kingdom!' He begged that we would all unite with him in returning thanks to God for his great mercy. This gentleman, too, has suffered for Christ's sake. He has been lately expelled by his rector from a curacy in Berkshire 'for preaching the New Birth so much.' He is quite a Methodist in sentiment, and says that he will live and die by the doctrines of Wesley and Fletcher. We have just received a most extraordinary account from Mr. Williams, of Dursley, in Gloucestershire. Near Thornbury, in that circuit, the celebrated bookseller, Lackington, has purchased an estate, upon which he at present resides. When he was a poor man he was a Christian and a Methodist. Since he became opulent he has been an avowed infidel, of the worst and most impudent sort. His 'Life,' published by himself, is designed to laugh at all experimental religion, and to represent the professors of it as knaves or fools. This apostate, however, is reclaimed, and has become a zealous advocate for the Bible and for Methodism. He has sent to London a large order for books, which he wants to assist him in writing a recantation of his former errors. Reflection on the ruinous effects produced by the infidel system among the Continental nations, several late publications in defense of Revealed Religion, Dr. Whitehead's 'Life of Wesley,' some of Wesley's Sermons, and Fletcher's 'Portrait of St. Paul,' are the means to which, under the Divine blessing, Mr. Lackington ascribes his recovery from so dreadful a state of mind. 'Is not this a

the highest esteem, and did not recognize the picture of him which his daughter's friend has drawn for the public amusement. It is the fashion just now to gibbet the fathers and the wives of great literary celebrities, and men who affect to rule the manners and morals of the age, and who dictate oracular "Household Words," forsooth! record the infirmities of women they have vowed to cherish with little less coolness than if they were describing the points of a horse.



brand plucked out of the fire?' In confirmation of the above account, a friend of mine has seen a letter from Lackington to an old fellow-apprentice, whom he had been the instrument of making as vile an infidel as himself, full of penitent recantations and pious admonitions. There is joy in heaven of a more than common kind over every such sinner that repenteth."

Lackington's "Life" and his "Confessions" have been reprinted. The former, a filthy libel upon all godliness, made the recantation of it by the latter a remarkable event. But this was one of the cases in which an avowed repentance fails to restore the reputation of the penitent. He retained some connection with the Methodists until his death, and built and endowed two chapels. But his money did small service. Though there can be little doubt of his sincerity, his was a mind such as, even when renewed, continually betrays the coarseness of its essential elements.

"*Wednesday Evening, Oct. 12th.* This morning at 5 o'clock I said something extempore to ten or twelve people from 1 Cor., ix., 26. Of my small audience, three were local preachers, and one a clergyman. Dr. Hamilton, as usual, supplied all deficiencies on my part by his fervent and most affecting supplications. We dined to-day with Mr. and Mrs. Hovatt, Mr. Storey, and Mr. Whitfield, at Mr. Rankin's; a very pleasant party. As I had been closely employed from half past 4 till half past 1, my mind was fagged and disposed to be melancholy; but Mrs. Hovatt's lively conversation entertained me in spite of myself. I have not laughed so much since I came to London. However, I think it was not unseasonable nor injurious. Mr. Taylor sang for us some delightful Scotch tunes, and, after prayer, we parted as merry as Christians wish to be. I had to preach at Snowsfields in the evening: my text was Heb., iv., 14. I am doomed to have clerical hearers, the thing of all others which most annoys me. Mr. Winkworth, the rector of the parish, sat just before me to-night. However, I spoke with great comfort to myself.

"*Friday, Oct. 14th.* This morning I set out toward Surrey Chapel to hear Mr. Jay, of Bath, but on arriving at St. Paul's perceived that it was already past 11 o'clock, and that I should be too late; so I returned home to City Road, and found it profitable to attend our usual intercession meeting at 12 o'clock.

At half past 3 we dined at Mr. Mortimer's, in Fleet Street; in every respect a most agreeable visit. Mrs. Mortimer talked less than I wished. Dr. Whitehead, who was one of our party, was at first very silent, but, after a little *broaching*, entertained and instructed us.\* I left the company for an hour, which I spent with Mr. Butterworth on the business of the Memorial on this Jamaica Persecution, and then returned to tea. I had a long, wet, disagreeable walk afterward to Wapping, where it was my turn to conduct the national prayer-meeting. In my way homeward I stepped into St. Antholin's, Watling Street, and heard part of a sermon from the famous Mr. Foster,† who appears to be a plain, judicious, sound preacher, but nothing more, if what I heard was a proper specimen. Mr. Benson's letter to the Christian Observer is so bulky, yet so good, that it would suffer by abridgment, but could not be inserted in any periodical work. We had a good deal of diversion while helping him to contrive a title for it. That agreed upon is 'The Methodist Inspector Inspected, and the Christian Observer Observed.' Mr. Butterworth attended with the Memorial respecting Jamaica prepared yesterday, which was approved, and will be sent to Lord Castlereagh this evening. The title of Mr. Kendall's Essays struck me as I passed a bookseller's window. I fear they are not worth much. Some of the hymns on General Redemption (in Wesley's Collection) impressed me greatly, and, as you were once half a Calvinist, I thought I should like to know your opinion of them.

"*Sunday Evening, October, 16th.* This morning Mr. Creigh-

\* Mr. Mortimer, a hearty but eccentric Methodist, was the father of the late excellent Rev. Thomas Mortimer, for many years a very popular clergyman in London. The Memoirs of Mrs. Mortimer, by Mrs. Bulmer (John Mason, London), have obtained considerable circulation. Dr. Whitehead was one of the biographers of Wesley.

† "The Rev. H. Foster was a plain and deeply pious man, without any peculiar decoration of taste, style, or eloquence in his general preaching. His ministrations were much valued, chiefly on account of their heart-searching and experimental character. On certain subjects, so great was his solemnity of manner, especially when discoursing upon death and eternity, that the late Mr. Wilberforce used to say that he was on those occasions the most eloquent man he knew."—*Eclectic Notes; or, Notes of Discussions on religious Topics at the Meetings of the Eclectic Society, London, during the years 1798-1814.* Edited by JOHN H. PRATT, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta. Nisbet. 1856.

ton read prayers, and I preached at City Road from 1 Timothy, iv., 8. My sermon, and my feelings in the delivery of it, were of the middling kind—neither so good nor so bad as at some other times. I received the Lord's Supper afterward. In the afternoon I was going to hear Mr. Clayton again, but, fearing that I should be too late, turned into the Pavement Chapel, Moorfields, and heard Mr. Wall on having God for our God. At 6 I preached at Wapping. My text was Isaiah, lv., 6. I was quite out of preaching time; but the love-feast afterward made, I hope, full amends for the poverty and barrenness of the sermon. Low and discouraged as I was, I felt my mind raised and comforted. It was by far the best meeting of the kind that I have yet attended in London. The speaking was rational, judicious, and scriptural, yet very lively and simple. And now I am at home, sadly dissatisfied with myself, but hoping and resolving to do better, if the God of all grace will but condescend to afford me His help.

“ *Wednesday, Oct. 19th.\** We had a tolerable congregation this forenoon at Deptford. My text was Zeph., ii., 3. I have reserved part of the same subject for the evening. Our good friends had a prayer-meeting in the chapel at 3 o'clock, but I thought it best to spend the afternoon alone, and found it profitable. I think I have experienced somewhat of the spirit of the day. I am humbled and affected by the sincere persuasion and conviction that I am one of the chief of those sinners whose ingratitude and abuse of mercies have exposed our country to the threatened judgment. But ‘there is forgiveness with Thee.’ O ‘pardon my iniquity, for it is great.’ While preaching in the evening, I had much comfort and liberty of utterance, attended too, I humbly trust and believe, with some holy motion in the application of my subject. I have always been haunted, as a preacher, by the drunkards. Instances of this might be adduced in my last circuit; and to-night an officer in the Volunteers who was present, and who, from his conduct, I conclude must have been tipsy, came to me as soon as I had concluded, very politely acknowledged the pleasure and instruction of the evening, and insisted on my accepting half a crown! I could not escape his importunities otherwise than by compliance; so, to avoid making a

\* A national fast-day.

bustle in the chapel, I took his money, informing him that I would give it to the poor.

*“Friday Evening, Oct. 21st.* I wrote and read most of this morning, then went to Surrey Chapel to hear Mr. Jay. But I suppose he has left town, for there was another gentleman in the pulpit, who spoke so low that I could hear scarcely any thing of what he said. He was expounding some part of the Revelation. I was in my study all the afternoon, and this evening preached at Saffron Hill to about forty poor people. My text was Rev., iii., 20, from which I was enabled, in words more than usually plain, and with feelings unutterably tender and affectionate, to call sinners to repentance, and to offer them mercy and salvation. O that I could always feel, in preaching, the spirit I felt to-night!

“ ‘O may Thy bowels yearn in me,  
 Whene’er a wandering sheep I see,  
 Till Thou that sheep retrieve!  
 And let me in Thy Spirit cry,  
 Why, sinner! wilt thou perish, why,  
 When Jesus bids thee live?’ ”

This verse is the prayer of my inmost soul.

*“Saturday Evening, Oct. 22d.* Mr. Taylor has delivered an interesting exhortation in the Penitents’ meeting on the subject of patient waiting for God. What he said was designed to illustrate and defend that sentiment, ‘Dare not set thy God a time.’ The opposite practice he strongly condemned, though he allowed that the Lord sometimes condescends to the weakness of such as adopt it. This is a delicate and difficult subject to discuss in public, but it was treated very judiciously.

*“Sunday, Oct. 23d.* At 10, after reading prayers, I preached at Queen Street, from Hebrews, xi., 26, on ‘The Reproach of Christ.’ After dining at Mr. Middleton’s, I went with Mrs. M. to Fetter Lane to hear Mr. Burder. He disappointed us; and some stranger, no orator, supplied his place, I dare say, as well as he could.”

My father did not then know the gentleman whose name he thus mentions, the late Rev. George Burder, one of the secretaries of the London Missionary Society. When he became acquainted with him as a man and as a preacher, full of primitive simplicity and zeal, he cherished for him a profound affec-



tion and respect. With Mr. Burder's son, also, the Rev. Dr. Henry Forster Burder, a model Christian pastor, my father became happily intimate. "Several times," Dr. Burder writes me, "he favored me by preaching most powerful and excellent sermons, as did also that great and good minister of Christ, Richard Watson, with whose friendship I was favored, and whom I greatly revered and loved. To be thus favored with the public services of these two most talented, most useful, and most honored servants of our Lord and Savior I regard as a distinguished privilege, and highly did my congregation appreciate their powerful and impressive sermons. It was also gratifying to me that for many years the anniversary meetings of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for Hackney were held in my chapel, and it was a pleasure to me to comply with the request to preside on those occasions. Is there not a serene delight in the exercise of Christian love? I remember that many years ago I heard Dr. Bunting preach, I think at Queen Street Chapel, on the parable of the Prodigal, and, in my judgment, it was the most powerful, the most impressive, and the most touching discourse I ever heard on that striking parable."

My father proceeds: "I had the pleasure of Mr. and Mrs. Butterworth's company to Chelsea. My text was Romans, viii., 2, which I had several reasons for selecting. Though my mind was in a very good frame, and I felt much of the Divine presence, I preached with pain and difficulty. For many Sundays past, after the forenoon service, I have been troubled with an unusual degree of headache. To-night the pain was so violent that I could scarcely speak at all. During the love-feast it gradually abated, but it has left me low and exhausted. This has been a long day; and now, at nearly twelve o'clock, I conclude. Have us ever in Thy holy keeping, O Shepherd of Israel!

"*Monday, Oct. 24th.* This morning I received a present of Jay's second volume from Mr. Critchley, together with an invitation, which I shall decline, to become a corresponding member of the Philological Society, established at Manchester by Mr. A. Clarke. Having nowhere to preach this evening, I have quite enjoyed my retirement. For the sake of half an hour's relaxation, I stepped into Mr. Whitefield's Tabernacle, and heard some very noisy gentleman declaim violently upon 2



Chron., vii., 14. I was glad to hear his zealous philippics against Antinomianism, though I was at a loss to reconcile them with some high notions before advanced.

*"Tuesday, Oct. 25th.* I preached this morning at 5 o'clock to exactly the usual number of hearers, from Rev., iii., 20. If any good is done by these morning lectures, it will be all clear gain over and above my calculations and expectations. A prayer-meeting would be far more profitable to us all. I have been closely employed all day in my study, and preached this evening at Grosvenor Chapel, from Luke, xv., 2. This has been a good day in spiritual matters. 'Bless the Lord, O my soul!'

*"Wednesday, October 26th.* I preached this evening at Spitalfields on 'building up ourselves on our most holy faith;' was much complimented by some, who must be either hypocrites or simpletons, for what, I know and am sure, was a very poor sermon. I have spent about three hours in my study to-day, in endeavoring to provide for the people 'things new and old.'

*"Thursday, October 27th.* This morning I finished the revision of an excellent pamphlet, chiefly written by Mr. James Wood,\* which Mr. Benson had requested me to examine, and, if I liked it, to prepare for the press. It is entitled 'Directions and Cautions addressed to the Class-leaders in the Methodist connection,' etc. It is well executed, and likely, I think, to be of great use to the body. I have made it as correct as I thought it possible to make another person's work, unless I had written it wholly over again. A tract on this subject has been long a desideratum in Methodism. No preacher should be stationed in London who has not traveled at least a dozen years. A young man just entered into the ministry is here too much diverted from those studies which he ought then especially to pursue by public business of importance, to which he can hardly refuse to attend, but which materially interferes with that private improvement which at his time of life is so essential. I have now at least three weeks' hard work of this kind before me, which will swallow up all my leisure. Besides other matters, I am urged by Mr. Benson to transcribe more than one hundred pages for the Magazine, from Dr. Magee's Discourses on the Atonement. This valuable work is now out of print,

\* The minister of that name, of whom some notice will be given hereafter.

though a large edition was but lately published. I borrowed a copy of it for Mr. B. from Dr. Percival, whose relative Dr. Magee married;\* and I would rather not send it to a common transcriber, lest it should be injured. However, I can but be doing something; and if any way I can serve God's Church, it is an honor and privilege which I do not at all deserve. I dined about three miles from town, at the country house of Mr. Sundins,† between Kingsland and Newington. Mr. S. is a very sensible, well-informed man, and one of the first merchants in the city. His wife was a Miss Smith, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. They have some of the most engaging children I ever saw. One little boy, just beginning to talk, is a perfect beauty, and uncommonly interesting in his manners. If I were rich, and his parents poor, and willing to transfer him, I would adopt him. Mr. Steinkopff, a clergyman of the Lutheran Establishment, who is lately come to be minister of the German Church in the Savoy, was of our party. He seems to be a truly pious man, and of a most amiable spirit. There is something so heavenly in his countenance as to recall to my mind the idea I have formed of the visage of his countryman, Mr. Fletcher, whom he appears to resemble also in unaffected humility of deportment. He gave me a very pleasing account of the celebrated Lavater, with whom he was personally intimate. I have paid few visits since I came to London from which I have derived more social enjoyment, intellectual improvement, and Christian edification.

*“Friday Night, October 28th.* We had very good meetings for prayer both at noon and at night. I have seldom found it more easy or more sweet to pour out my soul unto God in the public congregation than this day. Mr. Benjamin Sadler, from Leeds, Mr. Ringeldauben,‡ the German minister, and Dr. White-

\* I have heard my father tell how, when the lady was the wife of a young clergyman, she said she should “never be satisfied until she ironed her husband's lawn sleeves.” She lived to enjoy that pleasure.

† See his Biography, well worth perusal, in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1853. Probably he was the first of the thousands of Swedish Christians who, directly or indirectly, have, by Methodist instrumentality, found the peace and power of religion.

‡ See p. 168. Ringeldauben's zeal and success as a missionary in Southern India are still had in remembrance. In 1812 he had baptized about seven hundred converts. So long as he abode in his proper vocation he was

head, took tea with us. We were much interested in their conversation. Mr. Sadler tells me that the notorious Joanna Southcote, late of Exeter, is now at Leeds. She has abandoned the system of Richard Brothers, and set up for herself. She says that she is the bride, the Lamb's wife, mentioned in the Revelation, and such as believe her testimony she seals, by means of red wax, to the day of Redemption. Some hundreds in Leeds have been thus sealed of late. 'Any thing,' said a good man, 'does with the devil, and any thing with the world, except faith and repentance.'" The followers of this miserable impostor still possess some influence in a Lancashire borough enfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1832. They are not now, I presume, sealed with red wax, but are known by their large white hats, long beards, and coats of peculiar cut. A deceased friend of mine was greatly indebted to their assistance for the long retention of his seat in Parliament. They are unobtrusive citizens, and have a weary look, as if tired of waiting.

"*Sunday Night, October 30th.* This morning I walked to Deptford, and preached in the forenoon from Jer., viii., 22, with considerable comfort and liberty of mind; whether with any success, the Great Day will best determine. I dined with Mr. Evans and his family—very pious, well-informed, and agreeable people. Most of the afternoon I spent in trying to raise out of the depths of despair a poor backslider, whose body God has permitted to fall from a lofty building, in order, perhaps, to accomplish the restoration of his soul. The whole scene was profitable, though melancholy, and surely God was in our midst. Oh, it is an evil and a bitter thing to wander from the fold of the Good Shepherd. So prone as my heart has been to backslide, I wonder that I have not long ago been filled with my own ways. But I am a child of many and peculiar mercies; and God is Love! Before the evening service I had to bury the corpse of one who died well. This circumstance, perhaps, contributed to increase the congregation, which was unusually large; and I gave a faithful (and, I think I can add, an affec-

utterly regardless of his toils and hardships, often dining contentedly on the coarse grain boiled for the food of horses. "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day;" but ere he died he doubtless stood on some Mount Nebo, and saw the Canaan of millennial glory, and the rest which was promised to himself.—*South India Missionary Conference, 1858.*

tionate) warning against trifling with religion. The text was Luke, xvii., 32. Oh, may I never be the trifler I reprove! I fear sometimes that I am but half awake. As there were several friends from town, I walked home with them; to shorten the journey, and the night being calm and light, I ventured to cross the water. One of my companions in travel was a young man, who affectionately inquired for —, under whose ministry he was brought to God two years ago. The sermon which he said was particularly useful to him was on Phil., iii., 20, 21; a sermon, by-the-by, which — heard me once preach in Oldham Street, and of which he stole the substance and arrangement.

“*Monday Evening, Oct. 31st.* I was last night more restless than usual after Sunday’s work. At half past 2 this morning it seemed impossible that I should sleep; so I rose, and heard Mr. Taylor, at 5, preach an excellent sermon on the pleasures of religion. The rest of the day I spent in my study; but, in spite of repeated efforts, I found myself incapable of much close application to any thing. I have no headache, nor any other positive ailment, but am dull and listless, the result, I suppose, of last night’s sleeplessness. I was accompanied to Snowfields in the evening by a Mr. Grant, a gentleman with whom I became acquainted only on Saturday, and whose history is somewhat extraordinary. He is a man of independent property, of uncommon intellectual and literary abilities, and expresses himself more elegantly and classically in conversation than almost any man I ever heard. He has for many years been seeking rest for the sole of his foot, and finding none. He has been a Churchman, a Socinian, a Quaker; and, last of all, being disappointed in his efforts to obtain peace of mind, he gave up all religion, and was fast verging toward infidelity. All along he appears to have been a sincere inquirer after truth, though, perhaps, not always faithful. He was brought up to the law, and was advantageously settled in it, but, from conscientious motives, abandoned his profession, believing the indiscriminate\* exercise of it to be inconsistent with strict integ-

\* As, indeed, is the *indiscriminate* exercise of any profession. It is a vulgar error to suppose that the attorney is bound to accept whatever retainer may be offered to him; nor does any Christian gentleman who practices at the bar defile his hands with ill-gotten gain.



rity and benevolence. Of the real Gospel of Christ, as of Methodism, he knew nothing, till about six weeks ago he met with Mr. Fletcher's writings, by reading which he was deeply and fully convinced of sin, and brought into great distress of mind. One morning, after agonizing alone in prayer for three hours, he was completely delivered from guilt, and received an assurance of pardon. And now he is in a new world. He knows not how to express himself in our phrases, but his account of his experience and views is astonishingly rational, scriptural, and striking. To all the simplicity and humility of a new-born babe in Christ he unites the most exquisite and refined good sense. Altogether there is something very singular in him and about him; he is very desirous to be useful, and seems quite prepared for extensive service; but we can not help thinking that he is raised up for some special purpose. For his sake, I preached from 1 Peter, iii., 15, and never had more liberty in speaking. But I must retire to rest, that I may rise to preach at 5 in the morning." I can collect no farther information as to this interesting man.

"*Wednesday Evening, Nov. 2d.* I finished at Queen Street my sermon on Hebrews, xi., 26. After the service, as usual on the first Wednesday of every month, we had a meeting of the leaders for spiritual conversation only. Several interesting subjects were well discussed—subjects of an experimental kind. The most judicious speakers were Mr. Middleton, Mr. Francis, Mr. Butterworth, and Mrs. Mortimer. The last-named individual, at my desire, concluded by prayer. She has admirable talents. When I consider the spirit and abilities of many of its leaders, I cease to wonder that the Queen Street society should so much excel all others in the London Circuit. The Lambeth society ranks next to it.

"*Thursday, November 3d.* I preached this evening at Lambeth from 1 Timothy, iv., 8, and met the leaders, by whom I was detained till nearly 10 o'clock, partly in talking about a new chapel, which is much wanted, and partly in examining a poor woman accused of dishonesty. The case was complicated, but her guilt was proved, and ended in her expulsion from the society.

"*Friday, November 4th.* I have spent all this day in close confinement to my study, partly in writing, and partly in read-



ing the periodical works of the month. I have also been induced, by the celebrity of a pamphlet on the state of political parties (which has, in the course of a few weeks, passed to a sixth edition), to peruse its contents. It is said to be written by Lord Hawkesbury; is an able defense of Mr. Addington's administration, and discloses several facts of recent occurrence. I forgot to notice above my attendance on two prayer-meetings, viz., at twelve and seven, this being the monthly fast for the nation.

*“Sunday, November 6th.* At Spitalfields this morning I read prayers as usual. I preached from Jude, 20, 21: ‘Praying in the Holy Ghost,’ etc. Blessed be God for His gracious presence and assistance! For the first time since my coming to London, I have this day succeeded in my attempt to dine at home on the Lord’s day, and have had great comfort in so doing. At 3 o’clock I went to the Scotch Church, London Wall, and heard a sermon on the Resurrection of Christ by Mr. Young, the successor of Dr. Hunter. His voice is musical, and his action easy, graceful, and modest. But the sermon disappointed me. It was too apparent that he had, to use the Scotch phrase, literally *mandated* it, and was only repeating from memory. There was too evident an attempt at oratory, and the discourse itself was bare and commonplace, unworthy of a man who preaches only twice a week. Yet, somehow or other, I was pleased, and not unedified. At 6 I had to preach a missionary sermon at the New Chapel. My text was Mark, xvi., 15, which admitted of a very easy and natural application to the subject of missions, at the same time that it enabled me to introduce topics of general concern to the congregation themselves. I preached a long sermon with great enlargement of heart, and with more than common utterance and animation. O that the effects may prove that there was much of the unction of the Holy One!

*“Monday, November 7th.* Messrs. Rodda and Whitefield have dined with us, and spent the afternoon; but I was obliged to leave their company, though both pleasing and improving, in order to comply with Mr. Benson’s earnest request by perusing, with a critic’s eye and with a critic’s pen in my hand, his manuscript against Dr. Hales and the ‘Christian Observer.’ I have preached this evening at Wapping on 1 Timothy, iv., 8.

*“Tuesday, November 8th.* The morning has been wholly employed in the revision of Mr. Benson’s pamphlet, partly here, and partly at his own house. I must finish this work on Thursday when I return from Hammersmith and Brentford, whither I am going this afternoon.

*“Tuesday Evening, November 8th.* I have preached this evening for the first time since my arrival in London in a dwelling-house. My text was Acts, iii., 26. I am informed that ministers certainly expect some immediate attempt to invade us on the part of the French. These are awful times. The Lord’s hand is certainly lifted up, and on whom it will ultimately fall we can not tell. Happy are they who have protection, written with God’s own hand, and ratified by His most solemn oath. Such may well have strong consolation as have Jehovah for their refuge.

*“Thursday, November 10th.* I walked from Brentford this morning, which has robbed me of much time, so that I have not done much to-day. At the New Chapel this evening I preached from Zephaniah, ii., 3, a subject which I feel strongly inclined to speak from now, in hope that it may enable me to make some improvement of the present circumstances of our country. While at prayer, before preaching, in my room, I felt unusually poor, and needy, and empty, and lifeless, and was afraid I should have a comfortless season in public. But in public prayer, in preaching, and in the meeting of the bands, I was greatly helped and quickened, and praised God for the consolation.

*“Friday, November 11th.* This is a very sickly season. I scarcely hear of or meet with any one who is so perfectly and uninterruptedly well as myself. This is Thy doing, O Lord; may it be marvelous in my eyes! On my return from the city to-day, I called to see a dying woman, evidently ignorant of herself and of God, but much afraid of death. How foolish the conduct of those who leave the great work of salvation to the close of life! Their folly was particularly impressed on my mind while I was speaking to this lady. ‘My soul, come not thou into their secret,’ nor imitate their example! God grant that I may be habitually prepared for that which may any moment occur! We have had good meetings for prayer at 12 and 7. If any thing save this country, it will be the prayers of

the righteous, who now, among all denominations, so zealously unite their efforts in this way. 'Fighting without prayer,' says a prelate of former days, 'is atheism, just as praying without fighting would be presumption.' Somehow or other, my sermon on Mark, xvi., 15, struck the people much, and I have been repeatedly importuned to print it, which I have as repeatedly refused. This morning it was brought forward at our meeting, and stated as the request of many that the preachers would lay their commands on me. Several were very urgent; and if Mr. Taylor and Mr. Story had not espoused my right to judge for myself, I should have been overpowered by numbers. I have given no promise, and am, for many reasons, fully resolved to avoid it, if possible. It is too soon for me to turn author. You doubtless recollect the plan of the sermon as preached at Macclesfield. I request your *serious* judgment of it, and your advice what to do if I should be farther urged on the business. My inclination and my judgment are equally against publication; though, if I must print any of my sermons, I know not that I could select one more proper on the whole.

"*Saturday Evening, November 12th.* Mr. Benson spoke most admirably in the Penitents' meeting to-night on 'Now is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation.' He is a truly great man, and an able minister of the New Testament. Another week is gone forever. To me it has been a week of temptation; and to-day I fear I have been chargeable with a sinful disposition to wander from the central source of bliss.

'Oh, when shall all my wanderings end,  
And all my thoughts to Thee-ward tend?'

Lord, hasten the perfect day!

"*Sunday Evening, November 13th.* This forenoon I read prayers at Snowfields, and preached a charity sermon for the Benevolent or Strangers' Friend Society. This is a most useful institution, and I had the pleasure to find that the collection was a very large one. But I am afraid of acquiring too good a character as a public beggar, lest I should be employed in that line of ministerial duty too frequently. My text was Galatians, vi., 9. After dining I went to Mr. Townsend's\* Chapel

\* The late Rev. John Townsend, of Bermondsey, uncle of the late Rev. Dr. Townsend, Prebendary of Durham, the devout, learned, and laborious author of the Historical and Chronological Arrangement of the Old and New Testaments.

in Jamaica Row, hoping to hear him, but I was disappointed. I preached at Rotherhithe in the evening from 1 Timothy, iv., 8, but had not much comfort or enlargement.

*“Thursday, November 17th.* In the evening I went to Peckham, and preached from 1 Timothy, iv., 8. I felt a great desire to be the instrument of doing my hearers some good, and of making some salutary impression on their minds. God grant His effectual blessing to what was said! I have this night completed my first tour of the London Circuit. It is twelve weeks since I entered this great metropolis. Hitherto the Lord hath helped me!

*“Friday, November 18th.* The former part of this day was spent wholly in my study. Our national prayer-meeting this evening was but thinly attended; yet the great Master of Assemblies was there—*sensibly there*, I venture to say, notwithstanding the insinuations of the ‘Christian Observer’ to the discredit of the doctrine and phrase of sensible influence from the Holy One.

*“Saturday, November 19th.* To-morrow morning the use of our pulpit in the City Road Chapel is to be granted to Mr. Madan, a Calvinist\* minister, in order to preach a funeral sermon for Mr. Dewey, the gentleman whose death, in consequence of an unfortunate accident occurring during a mock-fight of the Volunteers near Highbury, has been so much noticed in the public papers. I was busy writing this evening, and did not go to the Penitents’ meeting.

*“Sunday Evening, November 20th.* My appointment this forenoon was for Grosvenor Chapel, where I preached from Zephaniah, ii., 3. I dined with Mr. Brown, who formerly resided in Manchester, and was intimately acquainted with my father long before I was born. ‘Thine own and thy father’s

\* The use of the word “Calvinist” in reference to evangelical Dissenters was very common among the Methodists fifty years ago. Points of doctrine were much more thought of than points of ecclesiastical order. Even in these days we talk of a “Socinian” or of a “Unitarian” minister without knowing or indeed caring any thing about his theory or practice of church government. My father used the ordinary language of the time. Yet there is nothing to prevent a Calvinist from being a private member of the Methodist society. With one such man, who, by his zeal and liberality, commenced a work which ended in the establishment of an extensive circuit, my father was well acquainted.



friend forsake not,' is a precept of Scripture which ought to be obeyed. May I never forsake my father's God! This would be an act of still greater ingratitude and weakness. At 6 P.M. I preached at Lambeth on Jeremiah, viii., 22, and afterward met the society. The former part of this day I found it very good to wait upon God. In the evening I was not quite so comfortable. But 'my times are in Thy hand'—my times of special consolation and enlargement; and I am content that they should remain in His hand, and be subject to His appointment. Physic is sometimes quite as necessary as cordials are at other seasons.

"*Monday, November 21st.* This morning brought me a letter from my dear mother, conveying the welcome intelligence that my elder sister has been again persuaded to meet in class. I hope she will set out afresh in the good ways of God. I have finished my abridgment of 'Dr. Magee on Atonement and Sacrifice,' which has swallowed up so much of my leisure of late. I feel my mind relieved as from a heavy burden, but I must not complain, as perhaps these extracts, when printed, may long survive him that made them, and be doing good when I am mouldering in the grave. I sometimes wonder where that grave will be. But when, how, and where we must die, are circumstances alike inscrutable, and alike of inferior importance, if we do but live and die well." If my father had looked out of the window of the room in which he wrote these words, he would have seen, within twenty yards of him, the very spot where his precious remains are now interred. How near are we all to our graves, and how simple will be the solution of many questions which vex our thoughtful hours!

"*Tuesday Morning, November 22d.* I preached this morning at 5 on 'Praying in the Holy Ghost.' A short text and a slender congregation justified a short sermon, and the two doctors—Hamilton and Caddick—filled up the hour profitably in prayer.

"*Tuesday Evening, November 22d.* This afternoon we had a violent storm of wind and hail, accompanied with thunder and lightning. Nevertheless, I walked to Kentish Town, and preached there from Psalm lvii., 1. Mr. Cordeux was my companion home, and made this lonesome walk more safe and more agreeable.



*“Wednesday Evening, November 23d.* I resolutely refused all invitations for to-day, and tried to make good use of my retirement. At 7 o'clock P.M. I preached at Queen Street from Titus, ii., 12, and met the leaders afterward.

*“Thursday Evening, November 29th.* The forenoon of to-day was spent in visiting a few of the society at this end of the town. The afternoon was occupied in reading. At 5 I went by appointment to take tea at Mr. Thomas Hunter's. He is Calvinistic in his sentiments, and an enthusiastic admirer and panegyrist of Mr. Romaine as an author. To some of Mr. R.'s works he chiefly owed, under God, his first religious consolations. Mrs. H. is a decided Methodist in her opinions. Both were very friendly, and walked with me to Chelsea, where I preached from 1 Timothy, iv., 8.

*“Friday, November 30th.* This morning I held a long conversation with Mr. Butterworth on many interesting subjects, private and public; then attended the prayer-meeting in the morning chapel. Surely so many prayers for our country can not go unanswered.

*“Saturday, 6 o'clock, December 1st.* This forenoon was spent as usual in the Preachers' meeting. Mr. Entwisle's excellent Essay on Secret Prayer is to be inserted in the March Magazine. This afternoon I have been reading a very famous work by Mr. Eden (now Lord Auckland) on the Principles of Penal Law, which has pleased and edified me. The doctrines of it may, by analogy, be applied to confirm, on natural grounds, the eternity of future punishment, with a view to which dogma of the Christian faith it was that I engaged in the perusal of this law-book.

*“Monday, December 5th.* I bless God that I continue better, and, indeed, am nearly as well as usual. I was at Grosvenor Chapel yesterday, but only met two classes, as Dr. Hamilton prohibited my preaching. In the evening we went (that is, Mr. and Mrs. Middleton and myself) to hear Mr. Cecil, and I have not taken any fresh cold. Mr. C. preached an excellent sermon on Temptation. My expectations from him had been raised very high by the perusal of his biographical works; and as to his matter I was not disappointed. His manner was not such as I had supposed. In that respect, he is inferior to my favorite, Mr. Clayton. I understand that the sermon of last

night was a very fair and accurate specimen of his general preaching. If so, I think he has the faults common to many Calvinists. He sets the standard of Christian experience and enjoyment much lower than the Scriptures do, and does not take sufficient pains to make strong and immediate impressions on the consciences of the unawakened. On the whole, I was very much delighted, though I acknowledge the justice of a critique on Mr. Cecil as a preacher, made in my hearing by Mr. Symons, a pious clergyman. He said, 'Mr. Cecil is a very wise preacher. He is a second Book of Ecclesiastes. Yet I should like him better, and he would do more good, if he were rather a second Epistle to the Romans.' To-night, after a tedious but perhaps profitable exclusion from it for a week, I hope again to take the pulpit. I am expected to preach at Queen Street, and am unwilling to disappoint the congregation, especially as my face is nearly well.

"*Tuesday, December 6th.* I sat most of this forenoon at Mr. Butterworth's, listening partly to his account of a long conversation which he had on Friday with Mr. Wilberforce on the subject of the Jamaica Persecution Act, and partly to the account given by Mr. Campbell (our own missionary lately imprisoned there, who, to avoid confinement for life, has fled to England, and is now in London) of the grievous sufferings inflicted on him for preaching the Gospel to negroes. In the afternoon I went by coach to Deptford, and have preached there on Titus, ii., 12.

"*Friday, December 9th.* I sat an hour this morning at Mr. Bulmer's. Mrs. B. is not only a very pious, but a very accomplished lady.\* I have met with few women that equal her in point of extensive information. At noon I attended the intercession-meeting, and in the afternoon accompanied Mr. Taylor to different parts of the city to meet classes. It was nearly 9 o'clock before we reached home.

"*Sunday, December 11th.* I arrived at Woolwich about 10 this morning, and have preached three times, and given tickets to all the society there. My texts were Hebrews, xi., 24; 1 Timothy, iv., 8; and Acts, iii., 26. In Woolwich alone, of all the places in the London Circuit, they require the same preach-

\* See "Select Letters of Mrs. Agnes Bulmer, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. W. M. BUNTING." 1842. Simpkin and Marshall.

er to officiate three times in one day. This has been the best Sabbath I have had for some time. I have been favored with considerable enlargement and comfort. I accepted a kind invitation from Mr. Bakewell, of Greenwich, whither I walked after service, and spent an agreeable hour with this pleasing and amiable family. Though I have had much more labor to-day than ever before fell to my lot since I left Macclesfield, I feel very little weariness compared with what I used to experience from similar exertions: a proof that my health and strength are improved. Blessed be the Giver of all good gifts!

“*Monday, December 12th.* All the politicians are, at present, full of the correspondence relative to the Prince of Wales. My opinion, if I have any, is that the prince's offer is more zealous than prudent, and that the public good requires, under present circumstances, that both the king and the heir-apparent should sacrifice their private feelings, however noble and commendable, by avoiding dangers of actual warfare, at least till the last extremity. At the critical moment of invasion, if the chances of war should prove fatal to both (a possible case, if they be actively engaged), the country would be greatly embarrassed when left to the government of a regency, as the crown would be left to the young Princess Charlotte of Wales. Whatever other reasons may have operated to produce the refusal of the prince's desire, I think this one is sufficient to justify it; only it would certainly have applied with equal force to prevent his appointment to a coloneley of dragoons, and to prohibit the king himself from taking the command of the army, as he has announced his design to do. Lackington has become, like St. Paul, a preacher of the faith which once he destroyed. It was to me unaccountable that he does not buy up all the remaining copies of his ‘Life,’ and so prevent the sale. If he do not this, I shall begin to think that his pretended *recantation* is all mere *cantation*.\*

\* He *did* try; but the copyright did not belong to him. Of course, he was but occasionally employed in preaching, and that in a destitute neighborhood. Not very long ago I heard a young man rebuked in a Friend's meeting in terms which often recur to the memory. Possibly he was of doubtful reputation. He had scarcely begun his testimony, when a grave elder rose and said, “We shall be better pleased if thou'lt be quiet.” How soothing the stillness which immediately fell upon the assembly!

"*Monday Evening, December 12th.* I had classes to meet this evening both before and after service at Hoxton. My text was Psalm lvii., 1. I took supper with one of the leaders, who lives in our own neighborhood. The circle of agreeable friends continues to enlarge around me."

*Dec. 13th, 1803,* my father writes to Mr. Marsden, speaking of Methodism in London, "I think we should do much better, by the blessing of God, if two things could be accomplished: one, an increase of the number of traveling preachers from six to nine, or, at least, to eight.\* Without this, some important places, both in town and country, such as Snowsfields, Lambeth, Grosvenor Market, Chelsea, Woolwich, Twickenham, and Brentford, will never have a fair trial. It is probable that at the next Conference this will be done. 2. A division of the circuit into two or three branches; *e.g.*, London, Westminster, and Southwark. In order to meet the prejudices of some respectable friends against this measure (which is, in the opinion of Mr. Taylor and myself, as well as of Mr. Benson and the other preachers who talked of it last year, absolutely essential to the due administration of discipline), the Sunday plan might still be general for all the town chapels, and the pecuniary concerns of the societies might all remain under the management of one steward and one Quarterly Meeting; but the superintendency, which is a mere name at present, should be divided between two or three persons, and there should be a separate week-day plan for the preachers appointed to each district branch of the circuit. Till something of this kind be adopted, there can be none of that ministerial *pastorship* and *oversight* of the flock which the New Testament enjoins as universally necessary. Mr. Benson's own advertisement has before this informed you what improvements he intends making in the Magazine. I wish he may perform all he has promised: he takes great pains; and I have no doubt that the work, under his management, will be altered much for the better. Materials for it crowd in from all quarters. On this and other accounts, I do think you had better withhold the Account of the Conversion of a Deist: I will return it when I have an opportunity. Of Mr. — some suspicions are reported. All

\* The number of members of society in London, as returned at the Conference of 1803, was three thousand six hundred and eighty.



persons enthusiastically or schismatically disposed are dangerous in our connection to its peace and permanency; and the more pious in their general character, the more dangerous. I have hardly room to answer your inquiries about Miss M. Our acquaintance continues, and is likely some time or other to result in one still more intimate. You married at the commencement of a second year in the London Circuit; whether I shall follow your example in that point is, therefore, rather an odd question. If I had your talents and popularity, perhaps I may not have your influence, nor any influence sufficient to procure, if I wanted it, a second year here. But more of this some time else."

"*Tuesday Evening, December 13th.* I preached this morning at 5 on 'Keeping ourselves in the love of God,' and found it better to be there than I usually have done on these occasions. I dined at 3 with Mr. and Mrs. Bulmer, and had some most interesting conversation. At 7 I preached in the New Chapel on Hebrews, xi., 24.

"*Wednesday Evening, December 14th.* I have preached at Stratford with more than common comfort on Jer., viii., 22, and supped at Mr. Benson's on my return. By-the-by, this liberty of staying out to supper, as well as many other liberties I now enjoy, will be abridged or abolished. But I think the yoke will be easy, and the chains, though firm as adamant, will be soft as velvet.

"*Thursday, December 15th.* This day has been wholly spent in my study; only I just stepped into the chapel at 7, and heard Mr. Benson on 'Walking so as to please God.'

"*Saturday, December 24th.* I have to preach three times to-morrow and read prayers; twice in my own turn, and once at the New Chapel at 5 in the morning for Mr. Taylor, who is very poorly. All next week my places are to be supplied, that I may be at liberty to attend to the affairs of the Missions and of the Book Committee.

"*Wednesday, December 28th.* I am quite tired of the cares of business, and should be glad instantly to return to my accustomed duties. I find so bustling a life, spent in such employments, not very favorable to my spiritual interests. Pray for me. I never needed help more."



“Manchester, Tuesday, 2 o'clock, January 17th, 1804.”

(These are extracts from my father's last letter to Miss Maclardie before their marriage.) “On Thursday evening next you may expect my mother and myself to arrive. Her anxious desire to see, and personally to know, before she dies, the intended wife of her only son, prevails over every other consideration, and she seems to anticipate with much delight the expected interview.

“As to Derby, I am inclined to think, from particular local circumstances, that my compliance might, perhaps, do some good. Nor do I feel any particular dislike, but rather the contrary, to the idea of preaching on the evening of my wedding-day. Perhaps, in a religious view, it may even be desirable. On Sunday I was urged to preach at Salford in the forenoon, and at Oldham Street in the evening, which I accordingly did, to very crowded congregations, and with as much indifference to their censure or applause as I ever felt in my life. I wish I may always be kept as ‘single of eye and simple of heart.’ My first text was 1 Timothy, iv., 8; my second, Hebrews, ii., 2-4. My sermons were, in my own opinion, which you ask me to tell you, of the middle class as sermons, and I thought I had more than common liberty and unction in my exhortations and applications. I should not at all wonder if my friend Wood be influenced, either by affection to me or curiosity, or both, to come and see us married. He has intimated as much in an indirect way. Well, my dearest friend, the time of our union now draws nigh. Before this time next Tuesday I hope to have the honor and happiness (undeserved, I deeply feel) of calling you *mine*. Let us on this occasion give ourselves afresh to God, and then to each other by the will of God. I trust this event will be the commencement of a new era in my religious as well as in my domestic life. When I look back to the years that are gone, I blush and tremble to perceive what a sinner and what a trifler I have been. Truly it is high time for me to awake out of sleep. I shall now be more than ever responsible to God for my tempers and conduct. I feel that, in giving you to me, Divine Providence lays me under stronger obligation than before to be grateful and obedient, and that you, whom my influence, example, and deportment may so powerfully affect, as well as

our common Governor, have a right to expect my most strenuous endeavors to be holy, devoted, and useful. Lord, help a helpless worm!"

Thus ends this series of notices of my father's early ministerial course. His occasional letters to my mother are the only resources, for the same kind of material, which are now available. He could give no greater proof of his deep love to her than that he thus overcame his constitutional aversion to talk about himself. There are no other journals extant. I do not think that any other were written; and through life he avoided the snare, into which some great men have fallen, of maintaining an extensive miscellaneous correspondence.

## CHAPTER XII.

### EARLY MINISTRY IN LONDON—*Concluded.*

Marriage.—Letter of Condolence to Mr. Entwisle.—Difficulties at the Book-room and as to Missions.—Bold Measures.—Connectional Finance.—Young Ministers in the Metropolis.—The Eclectic Review.—John Foster.—Triennial Appointments.—Henry Moore.—Death of Dr. Percival.—An old Preacher's Wife.—Disputes as to Singing.—Defense of Evangelical Arminianism.—Difficulties in accepting an Invitation to Manchester.—Early Opinions on the State of Connectional Literature and on the Education of the Methodist Ministry.—Earliest Publication.—Close of his first Career in London.

ON Tuesday, January 24th, 1804, Jabez Bunting was married to Sarah Maclardie, at the parish church of Prestbury, near Macclesfield. The same evening he preached, according to engagement, at Derby, on 1 John, i., 9. The following Sabbath he took his regular appointments in his own circuit, and at once resumed his other usual duties. He thus details the circumstances attending his marriage in a letter to Mr. Marsden: "Of the event to which I have just referred you have doubtless heard before now. It took place on the 24th of January, at Prestbury. Mr. Heapy,\* Mr. Entwisle, Mr. and Mrs. Allen, Messrs. Albiston and Wood, with my good mother from Manchester, Miss Hale,† and Mr. Maclardie, favored us with their

\* The officiating clergyman.

† The lady's maternal aunt. She thought she could trace her descent from Sir Matthew Hale.

company on the occasion; and I trust that He who once attended a marriage at Cana in Galilee was also present with us, to approve and to bless our union. Pray for us, that we may never forfeit His approbation and blessing. Our proper home is at City Road, where, besides the room that regularly belongs to me, we have the use of the large drawing-room on the second floor. We dine with the family, but at other times are alone. Our situation is therefore as comfortable as we can expect under such circumstances. But we have spent a month since our arrival at Mr. Middleton's, and are now paying a similar visit at Mr. Butterworth's. The hospitality and kindness of our friends in London are truly great. But I beg pardon for having said so much about myself and my concerns."

The Book-room—the establishment at which the standard publications of the connection are vended—was at this time in trouble, and Mr. Lomas, who had, when young, acquired some knowledge of secular concerns, was urgently invited to examine into its affairs. He sought my father's counsel. "You well know, my brother," he says, after congratulating his friend on his new relationship, "that in every state and place our God is our All. Blessed be His name, He is still my own, and I would not lose Him for all the world. What think you? You are my friend, and you are on the spot to see and hear what passes: should I be in danger of losing Him among books, and figures, and toils, and scrapes in the Methodist Book-room? Or do you suppose I have a Providential call to go thither, at least for a few weeks, if I could be spared from my circuit? I can truly say I have not sought this; far from it; nor do I think it desirable for its own sake; quite otherwise; but I want to know and to do the will of God by spending my time and strength in that way which will bring glory to His name, and serve the Methodist connection, which I love so dearly."

To his friend, Mr. Entwisle, whose wife had just died, my father wrote a letter of condolence, from which I give some extracts:

"London, March 24th, 1804.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—Mr. Morley's kind letter, which arrived four or five days before yours of the 19th instant, brought me the tidings which, though they did not surprise, deeply affected and grieved me. I most tenderly sympathize with my

beloved friend in his heavy affliction, the poignancy of which, I think, I know how to estimate, so far as it can be estimated by one who has not personally experienced a similar deprivation. May that blessed Spirit who is, emphatically and by office, 'the Comforter,' do His office for you! As for me, I know not what to say to you. I would gladly be, if I possessed the ability, 'as one that comforteth the mourners;' but, as balm itself may be painfully applied, I fear lest I should, by any means, make to bleed afresh that wound which I fain would help to heal. Indeed, your present circumstances call rather for the compassion than for the advice of those who love you; especially as they have good reason to believe that you have not your cordials to seek in the very hour when they are needed. By a long and familiar acquaintance with the best of books, you have been previously furnished with those views of Divine Providence, and with those maxims of heavenly wisdom, from which, through the agency of the Holy Ghost, a good man derives such strong consolations as delight his soul in the midst of his most troubled thoughts. I rejoice exceedingly in the extraordinary support with which you have been favored from above on this mournful occasion, and will not fail to pray for the continuance of these Divine influences. And, surely, that grace which enabled our dear departed friend so gloriously to triumph over the feelings of nature, the languors of disease, and the assaults of death, can and will support her surviving partner, till he, like her, shall be called to enjoy the crown for which he fights, and the prize for which he runs. I also rejoice to find, from your letters, that you are not inattentive to the many circumstances which contribute to alleviate the afflictive stroke, and to render it more tolerable. The presence and assistance of Miss Pawson, as your housekeeper, is a most happy arrangement indeed both for yourself and for your children. She will be a mother to them, for their mother's sake. Instead of murmuring that one of your blessings has been taken away, you, I doubt not, will rather labor to be thankful, first, that you were permitted to enjoy that one for so long a time, and, secondly, that, on its removal, you are still left in possession of so many others; for you still enjoy the comfort of kind relatives, the pleasures of paternal love, and the warm esteem and attachment of numerous friends, who, though they can not supply the



loss of her who is gone to Heaven, will, by their sympathy and their prayers, help you to bear it. You still enjoy, above all, the means of grace, an interest in Christ, and the hope of eternal life. You still enjoy God; and, though nothing could have made up to you for the departure of the Creator, it is easy for Him to make up to you for the removal of the most beloved creature. And, even with respect to that departed object of your best earthly affections, you sorrow not as do others. You have not only hope, but assurance in her death. You know she is not properly gone, but rather gone before; removed, but not lost; for dying is not the termination of existence, but only the exchange of worlds. You know, also, that the certainty of your meeting again is indubitable; that the time of that meeting can not be very distant; that, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, it will be happy as well as speedy; and, finally, that it will be eternal as well as joyful. Here you were often unavoidably separated from each other during considerable periods; but your next meeting shall be your final one. After that meeting (and your Lord saith, 'Behold, I come quickly'), there shall be no parting kiss, nor shall you ever be required to say again 'Farewell.' But I must stop. I have insensibly enlarged on this pleasingly-painful subject much more than I intended. You feel all these things, I am persuaded, more forcibly than I can state them. But excuse my long letter. I have not time now to make it shorter. I join with you in wishing that Mr. Lomas may find his mind at liberty to accept the office of book-steward for two or three years. In that time I think he would put our concerns into a proper train, and for a much longer period than that I should not desire so useful a preacher to be hindered from regular itinerancy. Whether he accept the office or not, I am confident that he is right in coming to us for a few weeks now. Aided by the result of his judicious and faithful investigations, I trust the Book Committee will be able to prepare for the Conference a more satisfactory report of its concerns in that line than has hitherto been presented."

To Mr. Marsden my father says, "Lackington's 'Confessions' afford to me satisfactory evidence of a real alteration in his sentiments and opinions on religion. As to the conversion



of his heart, the sincerity of his repentance, the sufficiency of his contrition, and the reality of his return to Christ, I yet stand in doubt. But I rejoice that he is, in any degree, altered for the better. I fear the style and spirit of the work will not do much honor either to Methodism or to Christianity. He does not write as a pardoned or penitent prodigal ought. What think you of our steps with respect to the missions? They were perhaps bold, but certainly necessary. Yesterday we received the final determination of the Committee of Privy Council respecting the persecuting law in Jamaica. Their lordships will disallow it, so that it, of course, ceases to be operative; but they have accompanied this decision with an intimation that they shall recommend some other measure to the Colonial Legislature in order to prevent abuses of the Toleration. What that other measure will be we can not tell. We have had a great deal of trouble on this business, but to have succeeded in any degree is more than an adequate recompense. Messrs. Abraham Booth, Andrew Fuller, and Robert Hall, on behalf of the Baptists, joined us in our applications. The other Dissenters stood aloof. We have pleasing accounts from Messrs. Mahy and Pontavice in France. They are making silent progress in some country parishes of Normandy; but concealment is essential to their safety and success, so that nothing must be published that would tend to make them objects of attention to the present execrable government of that country."

The "bold but certainly necessary" steps in reference to the connectional missions adopted at this time require some explanation. My father had very easily come to the conclusion that the laity, equally with the clergy, are bound and entitled to assist in the management of the temporal affairs of the Church. Up to this period a contrary principle had prevailed in Methodism. All parties to the constitutional settlement of 1795-1797 had contented themselves with providing that the accounts kept by the Conference should be duly reported to the people under its charge. All local finances, indeed, including those of chapels, were then, as now, under the sole control of lay officers; but the funds collected for the common purposes of the connection were received and distributed by ministers only.

It was impossible that such a state of things should long continue; and, accordingly, so early as 1799, the Conference introduced the lay element. But the circumstances of the case showed that no new system was intended. Of their own private Benefit Society, founded and supported by their own personal contributions, and, therefore, legitimately subject to their exclusive management, the preachers composing the Conference elected a treasurer. But this was an exceptional appointment, and was not often, if ever, repeated.

Very soon after a body of the laity appear to have interested themselves in the pecuniary affairs of the connection. A "Preachers' Friend Society" organized itself in London in the year 1799. Its objects were the "casual relief" of the ministers and their families "when in sickness or otherwise distressed." Its bounty was dispensed by a committee of seven persons resident in London, of which committee no minister was, or could be, a member. "Country members" might be present at the meetings. Annual reports were to be published; at the end of which, cases were to appear, and statements of the relief granted, concealing the names of the applicants. The first committee included the names of Bulmer, Hamilton, Middleton, and Sundius; Holy, Longridge, and others were country members; Marriott, Treasurer; and Butterworth, Secretary. The Conference was at this time sorely straitened for money; but I confess I am surprised that, instead of sanctioning, it did not summarily reject the scheme, with best thanks to its promoters for their good intentions, but with an earnest warning against the mischiefs which it threatened. It soon perished. A committee of the richer laymen of the body, distributing largesses at their own discretion to the ministers of the entire connection, was not an institute likely to acquire the confidence of the people, or to preserve the stainless incorruptibility of the persons it was designed to help. No intelligent Methodist can wish the experiment to be repeated. Common labors; common certainty of maintenance; common interchange of friendly offices; common sympathy and aid in trouble—these be the common inheritance of Methodist ministers to the end of time!

The Conference of 1801 was the first to give substantial and consistent form to the principle of lay interference. It was

then enacted that the circuit stewards should have a right to be present at the meetings of the district, and *to advise* at the settlement of all financial matters. But, so unimportant was this regulation considered, that, owing to the mistake of the secretary, no mention of it appears in the minutes of the year. It is to be found at the end of the Magazine for December.

The year 1803 saw another change made in the same direction. Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Allan, both active and intelligent Wesleyans, the latter a local preacher and a lawyer, had directed their serious attention to the relations of the connection to the legislative and administrative acts of the civil power, and it was chiefly at their instance that, in the year last named, the Conference appointed a committee to "guard our religious privileges in these perilous times," the majority of which committee, as it happened, were laymen. The idea of *representation*, too, as being, in some cases, and in well-regulated modes, expedient, was recognized, by placing upon this committee "the general steward of the London Circuit for the time being." With the single exception which occurred in 1799, this was the first time that laymen were permitted to engage in affairs relating to the whole connection; and even these affairs were not properly or necessarily pecuniary.\*

This was the germ of our present financial economy, though those who planted it little thought how high it would grow. It was not possible, however, that Jabez Bunting's clear comprehension of the present and foresight of the future should fail to see in it the commencement of a new order of things and the foundation of a new policy. But neither did he conjecture that this policy was to be, distinctively and emphatically, his own.

When he became a minister in London, the whole missionary operations of the body had long been confided by the Conference exclusively to the charge and direction of Dr. Coke. That

\* Of course, I am not referring to practices which prevailed during the earliest history of the body, and which at this time had become obsolete. I am aware that laymen interfered at the time of the settlement of 1795-1797, but there was no constitutional warrant for their doing so. An acute investigator may also find in the first article of the Plan of Pacification some faint traces of the idea of representation, but not in the sense in which the term is used in the text, or in which the connection has subsequently adopted it.

zealous and distinguished clergyman had exercised great control over them before the death of Wesley, and, because his will and wisdom had done so much to create this department of the work, and his personal contributions and exertions had done nearly every thing to sustain it, his superintendence of it had been continued and confirmed. He had given or begged all the money, and had been left to expend it as he chose. In 1794 he had rendered an account of his stewardship, which showed that, up to that period, he had personally subscribed more than nine hundred pounds, and had lent to mission chapels a sum much larger. But, between 1794 and 1803, no statement whatever had been published; so that, although every body knew that he was a large creditor upon the fund, none but himself could have proved that he was not a defaulting debtor. He was absent from England during nearly all the period which elapsed between the Conference of 1803 and that of 1804, and, so far as the missions were concerned, his somewhat complicated money affairs were transacted by the Book-steward, who, inasmuch as he was a minister, and had long been more familiar with the duties of itinerancy than with the mysteries of trade, can not be severely blamed that his various accounts, confused separately, were confused together, and lay in a state of almost unintelligible entanglement. Mr. Lomas, we have seen, was called to the rescue of the Book-room; but, until he should arrive, my father made a vigorous attempt to reduce things into order. Let those be thankful who have never encountered such a task. What an acreage of paper; and how prim and proper did the figures stand, in long successive files, like soldiers waiting for parade! But who should ascertain their powers, command their evolutions, and lead them to march and action?

And what was to be done for the missions? Coke was preaching through America, and his deputy had taken to his bed. This, at all events, was a clear case for the farther application of the principle adopted at the preceding Conference; and, accordingly, the London preachers formed a committee of "finance and advice," composed of all the London ministers, and of those same laymen whom the Conference had honored with its confidence in reference to "our religious privileges." This step was cautiously taken. Dr. Coke's authorized super-



intendence was left undisturbed; but he was not in England to do his work. Money must be had; laymen must find it: surely it was for them to say how it should be found, and to advise, when found, how it should be laid out; and those laymen were selected to whom the Conference itself had already committed an important trust. This caution extended to the minuter details of the arrangement. Marriott and Butterworth, the Treasurer and Secretary respectively of "the Preachers' Friend Society," were appointed to similar offices in connection with the new committee.

The measures thus taken were duly announced by circular to the several superintendents throughout the connection, and my father's last-quoted letter to Mr. Marsden was one of many modes in which he endeavored to sound the opinions of his brethren whether a plan suggested by a special exigency could be made part of a permanent system. Mr. Marsden's reply has not come into my possession. Dr. Coke soon came back, and I fear he was grieved at what had passed during his absence. At the Conference of 1804, however, his powers were placed under the check of a standing committee of "finance and advice," of which he was appointed president; he was favored with the assistance of a treasurer and of a secretary, both ministers; and annual reports were ordered to be published. These were innovations enough at a time. No laymen were appointed officers, or even members of the committee; and several years elapsed before the principle of lay concern in the management of any of our connectional affairs was farther recognized. Shortly after the Conference the new committee issued a letter containing the following paragraph: "You will perceive, from the minutes of the last Conference, that a committee of finance and advice has been appointed to assist the general superintendent in the management of the missions. The former committee has been dissolved. The Conference was fully satisfied of the integrity, piety, and disinterestedness of the whole conduct of the former committee, and return them their thanks; but *they choose* to manage the missions in future only by their superintendent, and a committee chosen out of their own body." So ended my father's first essay at developing the constitution of Methodism. It is doubtful whether ten laymen in the body cared whether it did or did not succeed.



But some of the veterans of the Conference were not a little displeased at the young man's rashness, and were half afraid that, in the person of the rising preacher and administrator, a "Killhamite" had crept into the connection.

Mr. Entwisle writes him in May, 1804, "I saw —— at ——. He introduced the business of the Book-room; but, as company was present, I could say little: however, he expressed his decided opposition to ——, and observed that our Book-steward should be a compassionate brother, that could feel for his brethren, etc. I said nothing in reply, judging it improper before the ladies. But I can not see why an agent of the Conference in book affairs should be compassionate; I think he ought to be accurate and sternly just."

In answer to an invitation to travel in the Huddersfield Circuit after the ensuing Conference, my father writes: "If I were at liberty to choose my own circuit, I should, perhaps, at my time of life, greatly prefer Huddersfield to London; for, though we certainly have more external comfort here than in most other places, I do not consider this situation to be, on the whole, desirable or advantageous to a young man. We have perpetually so much public business upon our hands, of a kind which does not occur in country circuits, that there is little or no time left for the purposes of study, which, to one in my circumstances, is a serious inconvenience. But I have various reasons to believe that our excellent and valuable friends in the metropolis generally expect and wish me to stay with them another year, and that they intend, at their next Quarterly meeting, to propose a petition to Conference with that view: I shall, in such a case, feel it my duty to be, as on every former occasion, wholly passive, and to submit the decision of the business entirely to God and to my brethren."

Mr. Entwisle writes about this period, with an account of the Macclesfield District meeting: "At 5 next morning, Mr. West\* gave us a plain, useful sermon on Isaiah, xxxiv., 16. He is quite an original; says smart and striking things in a plain way, and is lively and animated. Our business was conducted in the usual way. In discussing the inquiry, 'Is there any objection,' etc., we considered it as it respects moral conduct, doctrines, discipline, and abilities, taking each particular separately."

\* Father of the President of the Conference in 1858.

The next extract introduces my father into a wider and more influential sphere of action. He writes to my mother, then at Margate, under date of July 2d, 1804: "This morning I preached, at 5, on 'Being sealed with the Holy Spirit.' At 8 o'clock I went to Mr. Taylor's, Hatton Garden, to attend the committee for the Review, and, strange to tell, on the motion of Mr. Burder, was called to the chair; so I assumed, as well as I could, the air and attitude of a man of consequence, and got through the duties of my office, in my own opinion at least, very respectably. The gentlemen present stared with admiration when I told them that I had preached at 5 o'clock. Calling at Guildhall on my way home, I stepped for a while into the Court of King's Bench, and was amused with the sparrings of Garrow and Erskine: I then found a common hall of the city assembled to choose two new sheriffs. Several gentlemen were put in nomination, among whom was our friend, Mr. Marriott.\* Fortunately for his purse, the majority of votes was in favor of two other persons."

The Review alluded to in the preceding paragraph, originally intended to be called "The Bibliothecal Review," was subsequently established as "The Eclectic." Mr. Butterworth first brought the subject before my father's attention by introducing to him the late Mr. Apsley Pellatt, with the injunction that, "for many reasons, the business must remain a profound secret." Of the gentlemen invited to attend the meeting for its establishment, two only, Jabez Bunting and the late Rev. Thomas Roberts, were Wesleyan ministers; eight of the twenty-nine laymen summoned were connected with the Methodist society; Josiah Pratt is the only clergyman whose name appears on the list; and the venerable Dr. Steinkopff is the only survivor; Greathead, the friend of Cowper, was the chairman of the committee. The first trustees were Mr. Burder, the late Rev. George Collison, of Hackney, William Alers, Apsley Pellatt, and Jabez Bunting.† The agreement constituting the

\* One of John Wesley's executors, and the son of the baker who first took Mather to "the Foundery."

† A circular, issued soon after the commencement of the Review, contains a strong recommendation of it, signed by Jerram, of Chobham, and by Basil Woodd, distinguished leaders of the Evangelical party in the Church; by Fawcett, Hughes, and Dr. Ryland, among the Baptists; by Simpson, Pye

trust provided that the profits, if any, should be paid to the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was farther agreed that the intended Review should "be conducted upon the principles of the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England," farther defined as "the doctrines of the Trinity in Unity; the vicarious Atonement of Christ; Regeneration by the Holy Spirit; Justification by Grace, through Faith; Obligation of obedience to the Moral Law; Existence of the soul separate from the body; The Resurrection of the Dead; the Everlasting happiness of the believer, and Everlasting punishment of the impenitent." It was stipulated, also, that upon the committee there should be two members of the Established Church, two Independents, one Baptist, and one Wesleyan Methodist. My father's talent for the details of business—how acquired I am at a loss to say—was put into requisition, and calculations of expenditure and of probable income and profit, prepared with much care, are found among his papers.

I infer, from his active and prominent connection with this undertaking, that, though he was a stranger in the metropolis, and a very young man, he already commanded great respect and influence, and that many without his own pale had learned to value the soundness of his judgment, and his mastery over delicate and difficult subjects. The wisest representatives of metropolitan Nonconformity, together with a section of the Evangelical party in the Church of England, united, for the first time, with the Wesleyans, to defend and to promote religion upon the basis of a common creed. The event was novel in the history of Methodism, from which its distinctive theology, and, perhaps, also its quick and unexpected spread, had repelled Christians of other communions; some from a wholesome fear of heresy, and some from a pardonable fear of rivalry. The young Methodist preacher, who was thus brought into close union with strange but friendly brethren, well sustained the character of the body to which he belonged. I refer not so much to his general abilities or to the suavity of his manners, as to the strong Christian sense with which his mind always seized, as in a moment, upon the essential doctrines taught in Holy Scripture; putting aside for their sake, as the season or Smith, and Dr. Williams, Congregational ministers; by Nicol and Waugh, of the Presbyterians; and by Benson, Clarke, and Jenkins, Methodists.

the purpose might require, other not unimportant truths, which many good men did not see in the light in which he saw them, or could not see at all.

The undertaking, it is well known, did not succeed. The services of some of the best men of the time were enlisted; but it was very hard, in those days, for pious Calvinists to believe that any who denied the Decrees, in their Genevan sense, knelt humbly as themselves at the sovereign Savior's feet for all spiritual influence and power. The Review ceased to be catholic when it impugned the principles of evangelical Arminianism, and that event soon happened. Other causes of dissension quickly followed. The character of the age was altogether unfavorable to schemes of healthy and generous compromise. I have hinted at the temptation to jealousy which Methodism presented to stricter Nonconformists. But there was a still more serious difficulty. The frozen Establishment had begun to thaw, and, waking and warming into conscious life, had stretched its limbs, had begun to look about it, and, discovering its powers, had displayed them in the sight of friend and foe. "The common people" always "heard" it "gladly;" and its parochial system gave it a quick, firm, and simultaneous grasp upon the entire country. No wonder, then, that those who thought they discerned in all state churches a tendency to evil rather than to good, were startled when they saw the Church of England in downright earnest, and would not feign friendship when they felt nothing but suspicion and dread. So it came to pass that, when this "strong man" became a rejoicing competitor in the race for usefulness, and Methodism, running all the faster, yet breathed out a welcome, bade him play fairly, and wished him quickly at the goal, the old Dissent stopped and questioned, saying now that the strange racer carried too much weight, and now that he had undue advantage; all which little heeding, he went on his way, and, as many think, got a full century's start of those who tried to hinder him. But may all win!

John Foster was one of the first to foretell that the Review would fail to preserve its distinctive feature of catholicity. "What a stupid thing it was," he says to the editor in 1808, "to begin a thing on such a plan!" But Foster did much to create the difficulties which he thought the founders ought to have foreseen. Had his influence and talents been exerted in



favor of the scheme, there can be little doubt that it would have answered. The truth is, that the men whose fancied folly he condemned were, in this instance, as wise as himself, and a little more amiable. It is often right to make experiments, though little hope of their success may be indulged; and it is not for those who frustrate that success to complain of the effort. Foster has wittily said that "the Methodists are the Chinese of Christianity." It is certain he was one of its Tartars.

From this failure my father learned a lesson which he never forgot. In subsequent life he always very cautiously weighed, though he did not always refuse to join in, projects for which some one of the Churches of the faithful was not distinctly responsible, and which it did not pursue by its own denominational methods. He dreaded lest what were intended as manifestations of union should prove occasions of discord, and he thought that the parts separately would accomplish more than could the whole combined. There were cases, however, of united action not open to any doubt, and the opportunities thus afforded he eagerly embraced. The Bible Society did, cheaply and effectively, the work of all the churches. City missions, too, though within the range of his objection, were practically excepted from it. Within the same exception came also certain pressing claims for the promotion of the Gospel abroad, which no denominational society was prepared to meet. The Evangelical Alliance, as he always strenuously maintained, served its great and final purpose by the constant exhibition to the world of the substantial unity of the Church. He listened with affectionate deference to his illustrious friend, Thomas Chalmers, when he summoned that body to some aggressive action; but the call awakened fear rather than sympathy. Each case, such as that of the Madiai, in which action was taken, was considered by my father upon its own abstract and peculiar merits. He would have been deeply grieved if the influence, not to say the existence, of the Alliance had been endangered by any attempt to compass objects foreign to its original design. Nor did he ever see why churches should form confederations in order to effect any purpose which Christians formed into churches were already fulfilling, if with some incentives from sectarian zeal, yet chiefly out of love to their common Savior and Head.



My father again addresses Mr. Marsden: "The long-talked of Jamaica business has ended less favorably than we hoped it would. The old law is, indeed, fully repealed by the refusal of his majesty's assent to it. But the tidings of that refusal, when sent to the Colonial Legislature, were accompanied with the sketch of a new act on the same subject, which the Lords' Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations recommended to their adoption, and which, if carried into effect, will be still more injurious to Toleration than that which was before proposed. As this sketch was not officially made known to us, nothing can be done in this stage of the business; but if it be passed into a law, our opposition may then be renewed, and perhaps with more probability of success, in consequence of the recent change of administration.\* Under such threatening circumstances, it is our comfort to be assured that the Lord reigneth; and that when, by His overruling Providence, He has strangely made the wrath and malice of man to serve His righteous purposes and to promote His glory, the remainder of that wrath He will effectually restrain. Our district met last week but one. Mr. Taylor is chosen by a large majority to represent the district in the Stationing Committee; but the brethren agreed to suggest to that committee the propriety of admitting Mr. Benson also, in Dr. Coke's absence, as the representative of the foreign missionaries, several of whom are come home, and will want circuits. Mr. Taylor stays a second year, of course, and *ex officio*. Messrs. Rutherford and Rhodes are expected to remove. The Quarterly meeting has determined to petition for Mr. Myles, Mr. Entwisle, and myself, as married preachers, and to ask for two single men. This will complete their usual number of six preachers. Of Mr. Benson's stay as editor, etc., they will be very glad, but they are resolved (from a wish, they say, to make no precedents dangerous to itinerancy) to consider him, and Mr. Lomas also, should he be united with Mr. Whitefield in the Book-room, as the servants of the Conference only, not of the circuit. They therefore refuse to grant Mr. B. any longer the allowances of a preacher, or to reckon him one of their six; but, in consideration of the Sunday services of the editor, they will undertake to pay two

\* Mr. Pitt had just resumed power.

or three additional wives.\* I hear Mr. Jos. Bradford means to come here. In that case, he will occupy the Spitalfields house, and I must remove. I am perfectly willing to go or stay, as Providence and the Conference (which to me is the organ of Providence) may appoint. Who knows but I may be fortunate enough to have you for my bishop, in some quiet Yorkshire circuit?"

Writing to a friend, my father says: "You have been, I find, in the wars of late. My private opinion certainly is, that if Mr. ——— could quietly and comfortably have remained with you, it would have been highly desirable. As there is so serious and respectable an opposition, however, if I were he, I would absolutely, and at once, resign all claims of the kind. Indeed, I believe a great majority of the Conference will decidedly oppose all triennial appointments. In some cases I think they would do good; in others they would do harm; and I begin to be of opinion that, as the Conference can not distinguish between the former and the latter cases without subjecting themselves to the clamor which any imputation of partiality would immediately excite, nor without giving fresh occasion for strifes and jealousies among both preachers and people, they had better revive and enforce their old rule. I grant that, in some instances, this will be hard; but such is the present state of the world and of human nature, that the innocent must often suffer for the guilty, and the wishes of the good must be thwarted in order to prevent the working of corruption in the bad."

I add here that my father's experience soon taught him the advantage, as a rule, of triennial appointments; but he always approved and advocated the check which the Methodist Constitution imposes upon the practice, by requiring, in all ordinary cases, the hearty concurrence of the Quarterly meeting. An itinerancy like ours absolutely requires that, the wishes of the people being first fully stated and considered, the appointment of the ministers should rest with the Conference. But the system, fairly worked and carried out, guards itself against the countless evils of intruding a minister whom events prove to be unfit for the sphere allotted to him. At the end of one year all mistakes may easily be rectified; and there is a change,

\* The allowances made to wives of ministers in other circuits.

as of course, at the end of two years, unless there are clear indications of a wish to the contrary. This is one of the many advantages of a pastorate which regularly varies, as compared with one whose changes depend upon the accidents of events or of opinion. To those who discern its disadvantages, it is enough now to say that the arrangement has worked well for more than a century, and that it is not disparaged by the fact that it draws largely on the self-denial of the clergy. Until my father had traveled sixteen years, he never accepted an invitation for a third year. This course of action I attribute partly to his desire to examine closely the practical working of Methodism in various circumstances, and partly to his perception that a man in his peculiar position was keenly watched, and, in some cases, not without jealousy.

He had now completed his first year's residence in London. Occasional references have appeared in his letters to the multiplicity and laboriousness of the ordinary work of the circuit. Dr. George Smith, in the second volume of his *History of Methodism*,\* has printed the Plan for the last quarter of 1803, from which it will be seen that the circuit extended "from Twickenham to Tilbury, about thirty-eight miles, and from Mitcham to Barnet, nearly twenty miles." The names of thirty-one chapels and preaching-places appear on this Plan. In these my father preached two hundred and sixty-three times; but his usual course was interrupted by his wedding trip, and was shortened by the holding of the Conference in London in 1804. During the year he kept every appointment in his circuit except on the occasion of his marriage, and on one Sabbath spent at Margate.

To his ordinary duties were added various public concerns. I have spoken of his labors at the Book-room and for the missions; and his letters refer to long transcriptions from Magee for the use of the Magazine, and to other services rendered to its editor. I have no evidence that he was present at the meeting at which the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, but he took some part in its earlier proceedings. Joseph Lancaster's plans for the education of the people also engaged his close attention, and in the then state of the question, especially as it affected his own denomination, commanded his

\* London: Longman and Co. 1858.

warm approval. They were the occasion of the only movement, on a large scale, and in a right direction, in which Non-conformists could at that time participate.

The first Quarterly meeting of the local preachers held during this year, gave rise to a decisive declaration of my father's strong conviction as to the necessity of an order of men separated exclusively to the work of the ministry, and that his brethren, the itinerant preachers, and himself, constituted such an order. It had been the custom, I do not know how long, to call over the names of the itinerant and local preachers in succession, and to inquire into each man's character, orthodoxy, and general ability. When my father's name was mentioned, he rose and protested, insisting that such an investigation as to himself and his brethren in the ministry formed no proper part of the functions of that meeting. "When I am tried," he said, "I will be tried by my peers;" and he argued that an inquiry which might issue in a trial, or, possibly, in immediate degradation, ought also to be conducted by his peers. The practice was never resumed in his presence, and I believe it has fallen into entire desuetude.

At the Conference held in 1804, Henry Moore was appointed president, and Dr. Coke, who had returned from America, secretary.

HENRY MOORE, the friend and biographer of Wesley, was born near Dublin in 1751. He acquired in early life the habits of a scholar; but his education, which it was intended to complete at the Dublin University, was interrupted by the death of his father. He states, when telling the story of his youth, that he was bound apprentice to a carver, whom he also calls an artist. He went to reside in London, and became very gay: "The Parks, Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and especially the theatres, of which I was a passionate admirer, quite intoxicated me, so that the name of Garrick in a play-bill would make my heart vibrate with delightful anticipations." He returned to Dublin: "The sight of the University had a painful effect upon me; I sometimes attended the College Chapel, and often took a melancholy walk in its beautiful park." Again he went to London, and occasionally attended at Methodist Chapels. He heard Charles Wesley preach; "but his vehement and, what my folly pronounced, his headlong elocution, did not suit that



cold attention which was all I could then give to the ministry of any man, although, with respect to him, every sentence seemed an aphorism." He also frequented the Lock Chapel, where he heard De Coetlogon and Madan. The word he heard seriously impressed him. Again he sought his native land. He fell into a dispute about Calvinism, and his opponent urged him to read St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: so he sat down to read Burkitt's Commentary. "But how shall I describe the change wrought in my mind while rapidly, and with almost breathless attention, going through that Epistle, without taking in one word of the Commentary? The doctrine which I wished to explore vanished from my remembrance. I discovered that which I needed much more, Salvation by Grace, through Faith." He sought for farther light, and went to hear Smyth, an archbishop's nephew, who was announced to preach in the Methodist Chapel. "How great was my disappointment! A layman, with his plain coat, when I expected the gown, ascended the pulpit." The preacher was Samuel Bradburn. "The sermon throughout was highly impressive, and some parts of it came home to my case." Soon afterward he found peace with God, joined the society, and began to preach. Wesley sent him into the Londonderry Circuit in 1779, and, having watched his course, and taken the measure of his talents, appointed him, in 1784, to the London Circuit. Coke was anxious that he should be ordained as a bishop for America, but Wesley absolutely refused. Moore attended Wesley in his study at 5 o'clock every morning, read the letters, and answered many of them. Wesley "had very much forgotten his French, which was still fresh with" Moore; "and he received many French letters." Moore traveled with him during the winter, and "was never absent from him on the journey, night or day." "He had always books with him in the carriage, and used sometimes to read his own *excerpta* of the classics to me."

Charles Wesley wished Moore to take orders in the Church of England; but John Wesley cut the matter short by taking part, in conjunction with two other Anglican Presbyters, in ordaining his young companion. As it turned out, this was a mistake. Other preachers, who, in like manner, received orders, never regarded them, after Wesley's death, as having



created any real distinction between themselves and their brethren; but Moore ever and anon stood upon his rights. In 1786 he was appointed to Dublin; but two years afterward Wesley evinced his great attachment to him by again stationing him in London, and in 1790 in Bristol, where Wesley spent almost as much time as in the metropolis.\* By Wesley's will, the right to preach at his chapel in the City Road, London, and to appoint preachers for his chapel in King Street, Bath, was given to four clergymen and to eight of his preachers. Of these latter only two had been ordained by himself: Moore was one. He accounts for this exceptional mode of appointment, in the case of these two chapels, on the theory that Wesley had confidence that these twelve men would maintain the system of itinerancy so far as these chapels were concerned. Be this as it may, the powers conferred by the will were quietly ceded to the Conference as soon as Wesley died. It was felt to be impossible to reconcile such an irregular plan of action with the general system of itinerancy. During the disputes which followed, Moore warmly espoused the side of the separatists from the Church of England; more, as I gather from his biography, in reliance on his own ordination than as contending for the common rights of his brethren. Against those provisions of the Constitution which were enacted in 1797 he vehemently protested. But his well-deserved reputation as a theologian; the power of his "profound, luminous, and sententious" preaching; the gravity and stateliness of his demeanor; his quiet humor, kindling sometimes into sparkling wit; his general force and weight of character; and Wesley's recorded confidence in his integrity and wisdom, all placed him, for many years, in the foremost ranks of the connection. His errotchets did not become prominent until they had lost power to hurt. He made a fruitless effort to occupy, independently of the Conference, Wesley's own pulpit and house. For a time he resolutely opposed the formation of the Wes-

\* In a letter from Wesley to Moore, dated "Dumfries, June 1st, 1790," he says, "So I am upon the borders of England once again. My sight is much as it was; but I doubt I shall not recover my strength till I use that noble medicine, preaching in the morning." To think of early-morning preaching curing the ailments of a man in the eighty-eighth year of his age!

leyan Methodist Missionary Society, though afterward he became one of its heartiest friends. He could not, or would not, believe that the candidates for the ministry ought to be trained in a theological institution, and, accordingly, in 1835, his name was, with his consent, used against the Conference in the litigation which resulted from the proceedings taken by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Warren. Subsequently he politely offered ordination to the entire body of his brethren. After a long period of vigorous and self-possessed old age, he died in 1844. His friendship with my father was for many years firm, frank, and affectionate, except at times when the latter asserted the authority of the Conference over one of Wesley's favorite sons.\* Their personal intercourse, however, was terminated when some gathered around Moore in his later days who did much to cheer and comfort him, but whom my father could not meet without danger of unpleasant collision. His biography of Wesley is a valuable contribution to the history of Methodism, but it is in some places tinctured with his own peculiar views, and especially with those of them which affected his personal position. His sermon on the Epistle to the Romans, the ripe result, no doubt, of his first impressions when reading it, is regarded by competent judges as a master-piece in its own class of pulpit composition. The sermons published in a separate volume have not obtained such a circulation as to create any general opinion of their merits. He was the intimate friend of Alexander Knox, whose father and mother were Methodists in his first circuit, as also of Mary Tighe, the authoress of "Psyche;" considered, by a judge no less competent than Sir James Mackintosh, as the best poem in the language composed by a female writer. I can not hope that this sketch has done Mr. Moore full justice, but I think the portrait is substantially true to nature; if not, I have failed to convey the

\* The history of the "Bible Christians," sometimes improperly called Brianites, one of the minor sects of Methodists, and prevailing chiefly in the West of England, supplies a remarkable incident. Their founder, to whom many of them were placed under the strongest religious obligations, clearly and contumaciously violated their rules. They firmly resisted him, and ultimately dissolved their connection with him, though their contributions still make his old age comfortable. This fact was related to me by Mr. James Thorne, one of their ministers, to whose name I can not refer but in terms of affection and respect.

pleasant impression produced upon me by the striking appearance, sagacious sayings, and constant, condescending kindness of one of the greatest and most venerable men whom it was ever my privilege to know.

A letter from Miss Percival, dated "September 7th, 1804," announced the death of my father's early benefactor.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You will doubtless have been apprised of the very melancholy and afflicting event which has happened to this family. The fortitude and resignation with which my mother has supported herself are truly admirable, and I trust that we have all endeavored to call forth that strength of mind of which we have lately lost so exalted a pattern. In your sympathy we feel confident; and it will, perhaps, afford you some gratification to learn that my dear father has mentioned you in his papers in the kindest terms. The following is an extract from one of these papers that I allude to. 'It is my earnest request that my excellent friend, Mr. Jabez Bunting, will assist my dear son, Edward Cropper Percival, in the examination of my manuscript letters and papers, for the purpose of selecting what should be preserved, and of destroying whatever may be useless or improper to be kept. In their secrecy and discretion I have complete confidence.' My father has also directed a mourning ring to be sent to you."

In reply to a letter on the same mournful occasion, received from Mr. Edward Percival, my father wrote on September 15th, 1804:

"MY DEAR SIR,—When your letter arrived at City Road I was unfortunately absent, so that it lay there some time before I received it. Accept this as my apology for not having sooner replied to its contents. Of the decease of my most honored and ever-to-be-venerated friend I had not before been apprised. The melancholy intelligence greatly affected my mind. Be assured that I cordially sympathize with Mrs. Percival, yourself, and your whole family. After spending in his household four of the happiest years of my life, and enjoying so many opportunities of witnessing his manifold excellences, it is impossible that I should hear of the removal of so exalted

a character from our world without emotions of lively regret. Indeed, not to lament his departure as a most painful dispensation of Divine Providence would argue a criminal insensibility to his worth, and a culpable ingratitude for the benefits derived from his society and example. But, while we feel as men, let us submit as Christians. From the animating doctrines and momentous discoveries of that Gospel in which your father was so firm a believer, and of which he was occasionally so able a defender, we shall derive the most effectual relief and consolation under such trying bereavements. Let us thank God that we are not left to mourn like those who are without hope. Life and immortality are brought to clear and certain light; and we now not only trust, but know, that death is not an extinction, but a mere change of being. May I take the liberty of requesting from you, when you write, some farther particulars as to the time of your excellent father's death, the nature and duration of his previous illness, etc.? It does, indeed, afford me the highest gratification to find that I am so kindly mentioned in your father's papers. His friendly remembrance of me I always estimated most highly, but I am doubly grateful for this last honorable expression of it. With respect to the examination of the manuscripts, you have doubtless anticipated my determination. 'The earnest request' of one to whom I am under everlasting obligations I certainly could not think of refusing, especially on this affecting occasion. I shall be happy to comply with it as soon as possible, by rendering you every assistance in my power. At present I am almost unavoidably confined in London by the illness of one of my colleagues in the ministry, but in about a month or five weeks hence, if no unexpected occurrence prevent, I can conveniently visit Manchester for the purpose of aiding you in the execution of your trust. I shall be glad to be favored with a few lines by return of post, acquainting me whether this proposal meets your approbation, or suggesting any other plan that you may prefer. I am at a loss to conjecture what length of time the business will require. Perhaps you can give me some information on this point. Will five or six hours a day, if regularly devoted to this employment for the space of a fortnight, be sufficient? I must beg you to present my respectful compliments and most sincere condolence to Mrs. Percival and



the family in Mosley Street. With great pleasure I received the intimation of the fortitude and resignation displayed by your excellent mother."

A letter to my mother, dated October 18th, 1804, written at Manchester, where he had commenced the examination of Dr. Percival's papers, records his first visits to two eminent men. "Daylight appeared just as we entered Birmingham. I immediately visited Mr. Moore, who was exceedingly kind and friendly." And again: "I have also spent an hour with Mr. Clarke, and was exceedingly charmed with him. I have promised to supply his place at Oldham Street on Sunday and Monday evenings." So also on Monday, October 22d, 1804: "I again returned to Mrs. Percival's, and staid there till 5 o'clock; then spent an hour most agreeably with the great and good Adam Clarke in his study; drank tea at my mother's; heard part of Mr. Clarke's sermon at Oldham Street, and finally walked over to Oldham. The journey was rendered more pleasant by Albiston's society, who walked with me half the way. I arrived about 10 o'clock; sat half an hour at Mr. Marsden's, where I found Mr. and Mrs. Greaves, and then went to my old friend Mr. Abbot's, where I was received, as usual, most cordially. Next forenoon, at half past 10, I preached from Acts, iii., 26; dined at Mr. Marsden's, and arrived in Manchester about half past 4. I drank tea at Mr. Wood's, and preached in Oldham Street to an amazing crowd of hearers, with tolerable liberty, from Job, xxii., 21. After hearing Mr. Clarke deliver an interesting exhortation to the society, I returned, in company with Mr. Daniel Burton, to Mr. Wood's, where we supped, and then went home to my mother's, to close a fatiguing yet not unpleasant day."

A short extract from a letter written by an aged preacher, whose name I have already mentioned with honor, will show what sort of women were the wives of men like him. By "clearing the books of her name" was intended the withdrawal of all claims upon the funds of the connection in respect of her personal maintenance. At that time those funds were exceedingly embarrassed; and the mode in which the allowances for ministers' wives were recorded in the minutes must have offended the feelings of any gentlewoman.



“Shepton, December 1st, 1804.

“I suppose you had not heard of the death of my wife’s father, who died about a month since, after a short illness, on his return from a watering-place. He has very kindly remembered us, and has left us (what I would not choose to mention to any but yourself, as I know you love us) a little more than two thousand pounds. This will help to make a few inconveniences here very convenient to us, and will also help us, now and then, to make the hearts of some poor people glad, and this will be a special pleasure to us. This will also help my wife to clear the books of her name, which she always intended on this event.”

The year 1805 commences with a letter to Mr. Wood. “What harebrained work has been going on lately at ——! Much as I detest some of the abominations which have been wont to defile the sanctuary there, it is impossible not to condemn the violent method which, if my information be correct, has been taken to suppress them. What say the Manchester critics to the ‘Eclectic Review?’ The strong passage in the first number, which intimates that Calvinism is unanswered and unanswerable, is a grievous departure from the professions of catholicism contained in the Prospectus and in the Preface. I believe some apology for it will appear in the second number.”

The strife to which the former part of this letter refers has lost all its importance; but my father’s allusion to it shows thus early his opinions in reference to such questions. It had been the practice at —— that the hymns sung during the evening service, immediately before the sermon, should be selected from a hymn-book not authorized by the Connection; and the tunes were often such as the chief part of the congregation could not sing. Nor was this all: “the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music,” sounds not incompatible with a ceremonial religion, and harmonizing well with the worship of a “golden image,” were, in this instance, stately employed, in distracting variety, in the spiritual exercises of the Christian sanctuary. This was the class of abominations to which my father alludes. The second minister on the circuit, objecting very properly to these courses, interfered to prevent them, in defiance of the injunction of his superintendent, and by modes

which, whether wrong or right in themselves, gave great umbrage to the congregation, who loved "to have it so." The result was some four or five months' violent disturbance of the society, and great scandal in the town and neighborhood. The trustees intimated some intention to avail themselves of an unusual provision in their Trust Deed, and to prevent the minister from occupying the pulpit; whereupon he, whose acts had created the confusion, claimed the protection of a special District meeting. Adam Clarke, the chairman, wrote to the superintendent accordingly, announcing his intention to summon that tribunal, unless the trustees should rescind their resolutions. The trustees peremptorily refused to do so. Ultimately the matter was settled, through the intervention of the District meeting, at its annual session in May, by arranging that the preacher might choose such a hymn as appeared in both the regular hymn-book and in that objected to, the tune being left to the choice of the choir. The succeeding Conference inquired into the whole affair, and passed a series of regulations intended to put a stop to all such practices as had prevailed at the place in question. My father's very strong language proves how thoroughly he sympathized with the decision of the Conference. But he condemned the conduct of the minister, who, in opposition to the judgment and advice of his superintendent, had chosen his own time and modes of raising and of carrying on the contest. It was the individual act of a man bound not to act individually; the assertion of individual conscience against law, which the same conscience had selected as its guide.

The passage in the first number of the "Eclectic Review," referred to in the letter last quoted, gave my father great concern, and he addressed a letter to the editors which I think well worthy of preservation.

"TO THE EDITORS OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

"GENTLEMEN,—I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject of an article which appears in the first number of your work, and of which some friendly explanation seems to be required by the respect which you owe both to your own professions of universal candor and to a considerable number of your theological readers.

"The article to which I allude is your review of Dr. Law's

sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge. You inform us that one of the examples by which the preacher illustrated his general position relates to the consistency of the liberty of man with the foreknowledge of God. On this subject, it is observed that the question at issue is, 'Wherein does the freedom of the will consist?' that Dr. Law's answer seems to be, 'In its self-determining power;' but that Mr. Edwards and the modern Calvinists would reply, 'In its acting without compulsion, and choosing or refusing, according to the strength or weakness of the motives presented to it.' You farther remark, 'This is the system which Dr. Law attacked and refuted.' And then follows the passage, with some parts of which, in my opinion, your Arminian readers have reason to be dissatisfied. 'Of late,' you say, 'we have observed,' etc., as far as 'can bestow.' —*Eclectic Review*, p. 69.\*

"Now, gentlemen, to the first two sentences of this quotation I have nothing to object. Even a candid Arminian, though he may, on the whole, decidedly prefer his own hypothesis, will readily allow that the Calvinists have a great deal to say for themselves, and that persons discover a culpable ignorance of what they have actually said on the difficult point to which you refer who 'load Calvinism with every opprobrium,' and 'look down on it with sovereign contempt.' But permit me, gentlemen, to ask you, Is not the necessity of liberal and respectful forbearance on this abstruse and long-controverted question mutual, and binding on both parties? Will not every candid Calvinist allow that his scheme also, though to him it appears decidedly superior to every other, is, however, attended with some difficulties, and that Arminians 'have a good deal to say for themselves?' And, if he has carefully perused their

\* The whole passage runs thus: "Of late we have observed, in gentlemen of Dr. Law's sentiments, a disposition to load Calvinism with every opprobrium, and to look down on it with sovereign contempt. But, if they would peruse Edwards on the Freedom of the Will, and his book on Original Sin, with fairness and candor, they would be constrained to admit that the Calvinists have a great deal to say for themselves. These two books of Edwards's have been in the world half a century without an answer; it is, therefore, certainly full time for the champions of the opposite system to sit down and confute them. The man who shall do it to the satisfaction of impartial believers will be entitled to the highest honors which the republic of letters can bestow."

writings, will he not concede, in his turn, that it betrays a want of information to 'load their system with every opprobrium,' or to 'look down upon it with sovereign contempt?'

"It is on the ground thus stated that I venture to object to the two concluding sentences of the passage I have cited. They seem to some to contain expressions rather too bold and triumphant. I do not suppose that you designed to commit yourselves as parties in this controversy at the very commencement of your work. But has not the language you adopt too much the tone and style of polemics? Does it not appear to throw down the gauntlet, and to breathe the spirit of defiance against Arminians? For the character of Mr. Edwards, both as a Christian and an author, I entertain the highest respect. His work on Free Will is, not without reason, selected, as containing the strength of the cause which it supports. But your assertion that it has 'been in the world half a century without an answer' demands some explanation. Perhaps it only means that, in your judgment, that treatise has never been well or satisfactorily answered. This opinion I question not your right to entertain, but I doubt the propriety of involving your Review in the responsibility connected with so victorious an avowal of it, after your Prospectus has promised 'a general and universal candor respecting subjects on which the best and wisest of mankind are divided,' and after your Preface had declared, 'Things in which we differ from each other we agree to leave undecided.'

"If the assertion under consideration was meant to imply that the arguments of Mr. Edwards on Free Will have never been answered at all, I beg leave to remind you that, when they were detailed and enforced by Mr. Toplady, they were fully examined by Mr. Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, in a tract entitled 'A Reply to the principal Arguments in favor of Absolute Necessity,' which is reprinted in the seventh volume of his works. But perhaps you only meant to assert that, whatever attention may have been paid to the *arguments* of Mr. Edwards, his book has never been formally and explicitly attacked. Now, in my apprehension, to answer an author's arguments is, in effect, to answer his book, whether his name, and the particular pages of his book, be or be not quoted. But still you are not strictly correct. Mr. Edwards's treatise is formally and explicitly



named, and his theory fairly stated and zealously controverted, in 'Thoughts on Necessity, by John Wesley, A.M. Second edition. London, 1775.'

"I was exceedingly gratified, gentlemen, on the appearance of your Prospectus, by the promise of a Review on principles decidedly orthodox, yet uniformly catholic, and friendly to all who hold those great truths which are the vitals and fundamentals of Christianity. This promise I still hope and believe you intend to fulfill. The apparent deviation from it, which has occasioned this letter, has probably proceeded from haste, and will be candidly acknowledged, as it was, I doubt not, inadvertantly committed. I am aware that much liberal indulgence is due, on such occasions, to the conductors of a work like yours; and though I was somewhat mortified, on the perusal of your Review, by a seeming departure from your professions, reflection soon suggested an apology for the language you have used. Perhaps by Calvinism you chiefly mean, not the mere peculiarities of Calvin on the subject of absolute predestination and other kindred topics, but the grand system of evangelical truths taught by that great man, in conjunction with Luther and other reformers. These are truths which all serious Christians agree to hold as essential, however divided on questions of only secondary and subordinate importance. If Calvinism be thus identified, in your phraseology, with the glorious Gospel of 'the great God, even our Savior, Jesus Christ'—if you use that term as including the doctrines of Original Sin and of Hereditary Depravity; of Salvation by Grace alone; Justification by Faith in Christ's active and passive Obedience; Regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and other similar truths necessarily connected with these, the case is altered. I may still doubt, indeed, the strict correctness of your nomenclature, but I no longer object to your decision and zeal. I no longer condemn your triumphant challenge to all opponents. Among the 'champions of the opposite system' to this, God forbid that I should ever be found. This system is unspeakably dear to me and to many others, who nevertheless are called Arminians because we believe in General rather than in Particular Redemption, or, in other words, because we think that Jesus Christ in such a sense died for all men, that all men through Him may (we do not say will or must) be saved. As to any persons



called Arminians who, though they agree with us on this point, deny the momentous verities before mentioned, we disclaim all responsibility for their errors, and protest against that inaccurate classification which would rank us with Pelagians, Arians, Socinians, or, in fine, with any who deny the total misery of man by nature, or ascribe his recovery to any other source than the free and unmerited grace of God in Christ. From the positions of Edwards in his book on 'Free Will' we do indeed dissent, but with his leading doctrine of Original Sin we cordially agree.

"On these principles, gentlemen, and with sincere wishes for the success of your excellent undertaking, I have the honor to subscribe myself,  
AN ORTHODOX ARMINIAN."

On April 1st, 1805, my father addressed the following letter to his friend Mr. Wood, then the Steward of the Manchester Circuit.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Being absent from home when your letter arrived, I received it only three days ago. I must begin this answer to it by expressing my grateful acknowledgments to the persons who composed your late Quarterly meeting in Manchester for the good opinion which they entertain of me, and for the application with which they have honored me. But I fear, and, indeed, I am sure, that they very much overrate my qualifications for the important situation which they wish me to occupy among them. The kindness of the request, however, in connection with the similar partiality which some of them have formerly discovered, demanded my serious attention to their proposal, and I will, with all frankness and simplicity, detail to you my thoughts on the subject.

"My social feelings strongly incline me to wish for such an appointment. To be so near to my dear mother and sisters would certainly be a high gratification to me, and might enable me to contribute, more effectually than I otherwise could, to the comfort of the former, under the pressure of infirmities and declining years. Most of my other intimate friends and connections, too, are in Manchester or its neighborhood, and I should greatly prize the opportunity of spending a year with one whom I so greatly respect as yourself.

“My public feelings are decidedly against such an appointment. I must be allowed to know the state of my own ministerial attainments much better than others can, and I am satisfied that they are not at present such as they should be before I am stationed for Manchester. I am a very young man and a very young preacher. My Manchester friends have not forgotten me as the boy they once knew; nor are my qualifications for the pulpit, be they in themselves what they may, sufficiently matured to secure for me, in my native town, that permanent attention and respect, which are, in my judgment, almost essential to the due reception and complete success of ministerial exertions. Destitute, in a great measure, both of personal influence, and of that consideration which is conferred by age and well-cultivated talents, I think it is too soon for me to appear in Manchester as one of their stated preachers. Some years hence, if spared, I may, through Divine assistance, be more likely to fill that station with advantage to the people, with some degree of credit to the ministry, and with pleasure to myself. My personal feelings, also, lead me to shrink from the appointment proposed. I have somehow contracted an unconquerable aversion to all large towns. I think them very unfriendly both to intellectual improvement and to spiritual prosperity, especially in the case of a young preacher. Manchester is to me particularly objectionable. My acquaintance there is already too large, and, if I be stationed in it, will of necessity become still larger. I fear I should be obliged to be often in company, either in my own house or in those of others, when I ought to be in my study, and to live more in public than I can ever bring myself to do with comfort. There is another thing which to you, in confidence, I can state. You well know that the cast and character of our minds are materially influenced and moulded by the external circumstances in which we are placed. A young man who is fixed, year after year, in those very prominent situations which call him much into publicity and activity, is in danger of becoming insensibly, and by slow degrees, too public and too active. His temptations to presumption and forwardness are multiplied. I do, therefore, seriously think that a small, obscure, country circuit would be better for me than a large town, especially as my constitutional disposition is more ardent than is, perhaps, at all times consist-

ent with the meekness and gentleness of Christ. I am prone to think and speak with an excess of decision and energy. If I am providentially placed in a station such as those before alluded to, I seem bound to enter, with all my soul, into all the duties and all the business connected with it. But this creates occasions of temptation, and I am jealous as to the effect of such exposures on the moral habitudes of my own mind.

"You now know, my dear friend, how I think and feel on the subject of your letter. You will therefore perceive that I can not say, as you desire, I have no objections to be fixed in Manchester. However, on the whole, I think it best, though not without some scruples to the contrary, to be, as I hitherto have been, quiet and passive in these matters. If it be still thought proper to petition for me, and the Conference make the appointment, though I shall have many doubts as to the wisdom of their decision, I shall then have none as to my own duty to comply with it. In that case, I shall enter on my work with much fear and trembling indeed, but with humble hope that the way of Providence will ultimately be (if I be not wanting to myself) the way of profit and advantage. So far as I can at present judge, I must leave the business with God and my brethren. You will be so good as to communicate such of the particulars as you may deem proper (the whole would be too tedious and uninteresting), together with my best love and respects, to all whom they may concern. May the good Lord Himself choose our inheritance for us all, and determine, from year to year, the bounds of our habitation!"

The next extract I insert is valuable, both as recording the history of his opinions, and as, perhaps, in one respect applicable to the present circumstances of the connection. Yet a candid writer is not now able to account for the comparative scarcity of elaborate and learned books from the pens of Wesleyan ministers. The letter is addressed to Mr. Marsden.

"London, June 24th, 1805.

"I agree with most of your observations on the *Eclectic Review*. There certainly is a considerable defect in point of literary ability, and that in a degree which even the total failure of Mr. Hall's expected assistance, much as that failure is to

be lamented, can by no means sufficiently explain. As to Arminianism, I think they have been, on the whole, as candid as could reasonably be expected. If they refrain from direct attacks, it is as much as should be required from a corps whose members are principally avowed Calvinists. Since your letter was written, they have, I think, redeemed their character, with respect to the Wesleyan Methodists, by their strictures on Davies's Sermon, and by their panegyric on Mr. Fletcher. The only violation of their professed liberality toward us occurred in their account of Dr. Law's Sermon, and in their refusal to insert the letter of 'An Orthodox Arminian,' which was sent to them in consequence of their false assertion that Edwards on the Will was never answered. That 'Orthodox Arminian' was myself. Mr. Greatheed expressed to me great regret for the admission of the obnoxious paragraphs, but was afraid of offending his Reviewer by a formal recantation. As to their adverting to their own 'writers,' this seems to me to be unavoidable. On controverted subjects, if they must be amicable, they, of course, will say as little as possible; and on theological or literary subjects in general, we have very few writers to whom they could advert. This strikes me as one great defect of modern Methodism. It makes very little use of the press, that powerful engine, for promoting its tenets or advancing its interests. That mode of influencing public opinion, and of saving souls from death, we grossly neglect; a neglect, however, which is one out of many evils resulting from an uneducated ministry. Do not mistake me: I am no friend to colleges or academies; but I do think that some regular, systematic plan ought to be adopted with respect to the young preachers during their four years of probation, which, without interrupting their pulpit labors, would make them more accurately and thoroughly acquainted with divinity as a science, and qualify them for more extensive and permanent usefulness. On the whole, I think the Eclectic Review deserves patronage, as it is the only work of the kind in which either infidelity or heterodoxy of the worst sort is not introduced, and, therefore, the only one which can with safety be recommended to young people, or to readers in general."

On July 1st, 1805, my father again writes to Mr. Wood:



“MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—You will see by the inclosed sermon that I have been persuaded to turn author. I request your acceptance of a copy, as a small proof of my affectionate remembrance of you, and of my confidence in your friendly dispositions toward me.

“I think I have made up my mind to sacrifice all my personal feelings and inclinations by consenting to come to Manchester if the Conference deem it proper to appoint me. This I have intimated in answer to applications from Birmingham, Blackburn, Leeds, Wakefield, and Sheffield. I can now do nothing more to prove the respect I am disposed to pay to the importunities of my Manchester friends. May the Lord Himself direct and decide! To Him I cheerfully commit my cause. Mr. Jenkins, in a letter received from him last week, tells me that my call, in his opinion, is to Sheffield. How prone we are to plead Divine authority in favor of our own views and wishes! You tell me, in almost the same words, that my Providential call is to Manchester. Now ‘who shall decide when doctors disagree?’ My answer is, God and the Conference, who to me, in this business, are God’s representatives.

“Your Quarterly meeting is, I suppose, now over. I am desirous to know what your proceedings were on the subject of petitions to Conference. If they have altered their minds about me, pray be faithful, and inform me of it. You will particularly oblige me if you will favor me, by return of post, with all the details of what passed on this business. It is of some consequence to me to know whom, if I come to Manchester, I am likely to have for my fellow-laborers.

“Am I right in concluding, from the information I have received, that though the printed Plan frequently requires your preachers to officiate, when in town, thrice on the Lord’s Day, it is, however, contrary to the usual practice, and will be neither desired nor expected of me? This is a material circumstance. In addition to our own services, I preached a third time yesterday, in order to oblige Mr. Dan Taylor, the General Baptist. The consequences I have felt most of the night, and I am exceedingly *Mondayish* this morning.

“Has Dr. Alexander returned to the society? I will trouble you with the delivery of a copy of my sermon to him, and also with one for Albiston, and one for Mr. Clarke, who, I hope, will



accept it as a small acknowledgment in return for his obliging present of the Discourse to the Philological Society."

My father's first residence in London terminated in August, 1805. He had preached two hundred and sixty-nine times during the second year of his appointment. With the exception of the period of his visit to Lancashire upon the occasion of Dr. Percival's decease, he was absent from his circuit for one Sunday only; nor did he leave for the Conference until after the first Sunday in August. During the year he became increasingly engaged in the labors and responsibilities attending the public business of the connection. He took a lively interest in the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. A club for the purchase and circulation of periodicals and pamphlets, of which he was the founder, familiarized him with the lighter literature of the time. So frequently as his avocations would permit, he attended at the House of Commons in the days when Pitt and Fox flourished. He was an occasional visitor, also, at the meetings of the Eclectic Society (see note, p. 183), which were held in the vestry of St. John's, Bedford Row, and of which John Newton, Cecil, Daniel Wilson, Pratt, Henry Foster, Samuel Crowther, Basil Woodd, Simeon, Abdy, Venn, and Goode (the father of the learned controversialist of that name), together with the elder Clayton and John Goode, of the Dissenters, were members. I am not sure whether it was here, or through some other channel, that he became acquainted with Henry Martyn. Of his happy and instructive association with the fathers and founders of the London Missionary Society he always spoke in the most grateful terms.\* Indeed, he seems

\* At the jubilee meeting of the London Missionary Society, held in 1844, in the course of his speech he thus expressed himself: "I am only pledged to a few sentences. The first of these must be to beg permission, on this memorable occasion, to renew the expression of my great personal esteem for this society. That esteem is mingled with no small measure of the feeling of gratitude. It is known to some here that a considerable portion of my public life has been spent in connection with the subject of missions and in their service. So far as home operations are concerned, I have in that service had unutterable pleasure, for which I thank God. The subject of missions can not but be highly gratifying to every mind that has any love to our Savior, and any sense of the value of human souls. It is true that missionary directors, committees, and societies have often many pains, but they have also many joys. I have had pleasure of many kinds, of which one has been the pleasure of association with some of the best men, some

to have regarded his temporary sojourn in the metropolis not only as affording him large and various opportunities of usefulness, but as a means of training his powers for the subsequent service of Methodism in the Provinces.

It was shortly before he left London that he was induced to publish one of the very few sermons which he committed to the press. His friend, Mr. Burder, had preached the first anniversary sermon of the Sunday School Union at one of the Wesleyan chapels, and my father delivered the second at an Independent meeting-house. Its title was, "A great Work described and recommended;" its text, Nehemiah, vi., 3. The topic gave no scope for theological discussion or for impressive appeal to individuals; but the sermon, owing, I conceive, to the reputation of the preacher rather than to any extraordinary merit, passed through several editions, and still commands a sale. It combines the excellences of full and clear statement, lucid arrangement, and an admirable English style. I have been struck, also, with its extensive and accurate quotation of authorities, so characteristic of the preacher's unwillingness to form any opinion until he had ransacked all sources of information, and of his desire to obtain for it, when formed, a sanction other than his own. Its testimony in favor of an education for the children of the poor distinctly and doctrinally religious is emphatic and complete. He had not as yet formed the opinion that, in England, denominational effort is, upon the whole, the best means of securing it.

My father's general position had now become one of unexampled rarity. He had been engaged in the ministry for six of the excellent of the earth, who have been similarly occupied. - But for all my pleasure in connection with missionary service I am mainly and essentially indebted, under the Providence of God, to the London Missionary Society. It was my great privilege, from an early period, to have the opportunity of attending most of its meetings. I refer to those held in Haberdashers' Hall, before Exeter Hall was thought of, and to some meetings on a very small scale held at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street. These were the initiative, the preparatory meetings. It was what I heard at those meetings, and the statements to which I listened from the lips of excellent ministers, who, from time to time, preached your annual sermons, that, under the blessing of God, kindled in my heart whatever of a missionary spirit I have enjoyed. I therefore tender to this society, in my declining years, the expression of that high respect and gratitude which the recollection of my earlier years is calculated to inspire."

years only, even if those of his probation be included ; but he left the metropolis regarded by those who watched events as the future leader of his own Church, and as its ablest representative to other Churches and to the general public. The talents and acquirements of Adam Clarke had, indeed, secured for him a high position in the body, and were its ornament in the eyes of those without ; but he was already, in purpose and preparation, devoted to the great literary labor of his life, and to it, ere long, every thing else became subsidiary. My father's vocation was different, and he had now entered upon it with the certainty of distinction and of usefulness.

What a strange interruption of his course would it have been if the press-gang, which seized him one afternoon on his journey to preach at Deptford, had put him on board a man-of-war, and had given him a turn of service in his majesty's navy ! He was physically and morally courageous, and, had chances favored him, would have made an excellent admiral ; but the production of the certificate given him by the Salford Quarter Sessions in 1798 put a stop to his promotion after he had served his country as a prisoner for some five or six hours. I believe that his most angry opponents, during a long and somewhat stormy life, entertained for him, in their cool moments, no worse wish than that the certificate had not been forthcoming.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### HIS EARLY MINISTRY IN MANCHESTER.

Appointment to the Manchester Circuit.—Colleagues.—James Wood.—John Reynolds.—William Leach.—Water Griffith.—Jabez Bunting's Return to systematic Study.—Birth of his eldest Son.—Correspondence.—A Secession from the Manchester Society.—Methodism in London.—The Conference of 1806.—Election as Assistant Secretary.—Letter to the Commissioners of income Tax.—Mode of supporting the Methodist Ministry.—Thomas Hartwell Horne.—Periodical Meetings of the Methodist Ministers.—Robert Newton.—The Poor of the Society.—Letter from Rodda.—The Conference of 1807.

By the Conference of 1805 my father was appointed to the Manchester Circuit, comprising a district of country now divided into the five circuits in that city, the Altrincham Circuit,

and a portion of the Leigh Circuit. The plans provided also for regular services for the soldiers in the barracks. His colleagues were James Wood, John Reynolds, and William Leach, the first being succeeded the second year by Walter Griffith. Of all these worthies my notices must be brief.

JAMES WOOD was born in 1751, commenced his itinerancy in 1773, and retired from active service in 1826. He died in 1840, having survived five hundred of his brethren who had entered the ministry subsequently to himself. His parents were orthodox Dissenters, but a change of pastor induced them to attend the parish church, where, some years before Methodism had penetrated the neighborhood, the Gospel was preached with much simplicity and power. It produced a strong, though transient impression on their son when a child eleven years old. In his seventeenth year he became connected with the Methodists, and was soon afterward soundly converted. Never was man more distinctly called to the office of the ministry.\* He received a strong impression that he must begin to preach on a certain day, and, when that day came, a clear necessity demanded the effort. This peculiar dealing with him took place more than once, and he began to officiate regularly; but, though he met with great success, he doubted his call, and ran away to a strange city, where he joined the society, but buried his talent. Here, he tells, one whom he had never seen before, and whom he never saw afterward, met him in the street, and said to him, "Young man, what are you doing? You have fled from the work of the Lord: I was warned of you last night in a dream. Go home, and preach the Gospel." With some hesitation, he obeyed the summons, returned home, and soon afterward became a traveling preacher. He was a man of great good sense, and his eminently judicious ministry was characterized also by much tenderness. But he owed his high position in the connection chiefly to a natural worth and weight of character (an heirloom in some families) which, improved and sanctified by Divine grace, made him even in youth, but especially when he had acquired large knowledge and experience, "an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit,

\* See an admirable biography of him, written by his son, the late Rev. Robert Wood, in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1842.



in faith, in purity.”\* He was elected president in 1800, and again in 1808. Indeed, he was one of that class of ministers whose age, wisdom, sobriety of spirit, gravity of demeanor, and long, anxious, and active engagement in every department of connectional labor would seem to entitle them to a monopoly of that venerable office. My father visited him shortly before his death, and heard some of his latest expressions of desire for “the conversion of the families of Christians,” and that “the English nation” might “become truly religious, and, so, universally useful.” The last sentence he was able to utter told how, during a weary old age, he had been sustained under the privation of public ordinances, and of some other accustomed means of spiritual comfort. “I have meat to eat that the world knoweth not of.”

The memory of JOHN REYNOLDS is preserved in the grateful recollections of the Church, and of a family unusually large, but otherwise only in the notices of his decease, and in the customary tribute of respect paid by the Conference.† He died in the ninety-second year of his age; the last, I believe, of the Methodist preachers who wore the hat which betokens the clerical order. In his case it covered locks of glistening snow.

WILLIAM LEACH, who was twice my father’s colleague, secured the respect and warm affection of all his fellow-laborers. The story of his life is well told by one of his daughters,‡ and is ably supplemented by a sketch of his character, by the Rev. George Browne Macdonald. He was “a good superintendent,” in a higher sense than is sometimes conveyed by the use of the phrase. He took care that those to whom it properly belonged looked well after the temporal affairs of the societies, or, in cases of neglect, provided competent successors; but he never did their work for them, nor fidgeted himself, and harassed every body about him, with the endless details of cir-

\* Since writing the above, I have referred to the character of Mr. Wood as given in the minutes of the Conference, written, doubtless, by some Minister who knew him well. He quotes the very text which occurred to me, who, when a child, received my first impression of Mr. Wood’s distinctive qualities.

† See the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1854 and 1855.

‡ *Ibid.* for 1858.

cuit management. *Himself* he gave "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word" and to those pleasant exercises of pastoral visitation and oversight which are the special duties of the Christian eldership.

WALTER GRIFFITH, who was, perhaps, while he lived, of all my father's brethren, his dearest and most valued friend, was born in Tipperary in 1761. He was convinced of sin under the ministry of Joseph Pilmoor, Richard Boardman's companion to America. He learned the way of peace from Thomas Rutherford; found it, and was admitted upon trial, as a traveling preacher, in 1784, John Crook being his first superintendent. Before he had traveled two years, Adam Averell, then in deacon's orders at Athlone, but afterward a useful Methodist minister, and, later still, the head of an extensive secession from the Irish connection, and Zachariah Worrall, who labored till his death among the people of his first choice, were both converted by the instrumentality of the young evangelist. Similar, if not equal results attended his ministry in the case of the rector of a parish in the neighborhood of Coleraine, who had the good sense to be his constant hearer on the week-nights. Mr. Griffith remained in Ireland, a burning and a shining light, until the year 1794, and then offered himself for service in the West Indian colonies, but was detained in England by the illness of his wife, to whom he had been united about seven years. She died in 1795. He early secured and uniformly kept a chief place in the counsels and affections of the English Methodists. In 1813 he was placed at their head. He finished his course in 1825. With the constant cheerfulness and ready wit which characterize his nation, he united more happily and consistently than most other men, a godly seriousness of speech and spirit; the whole winning, without effort on his part, or limit on that of his associates, their confidence, esteem, and love. In the pulpit and on the platform, his appearance was in the highest degree commanding and impressive, and the aspect of his countenance attractive and serene. Even before time could do its office, character had fashioned his entire presence into the dignity of venerable age. "His preaching"—I quote from the minutes for 1825—"was eminently evangelical, experimental, energetic, and fruitful." Its simplicity and fervor equally deserve record. Probably no

minister the connection has yet seen understood more thoroughly, or expounded with more clearness and unction, what are commonly regarded as the distinctive features of the theology of Wesley. In his teaching, the much-mistaken doctrine of assurance was the simple exegesis of the saying of St. John—that summary of the philosophy of religion—"We love Him because He first loved us;" for it implies the knowledge of His love to us; and this knowledge can be given to us by none but His own Spirit. As Griffith thus defined the tenet, he recognized the privilege it describes as the heritage of "all saints." Formal statements might vary. Creeds might perplex what they were intended to explain. But the ground of acceptance, always the same, and the sense of acceptance, differing only in degree, must be common to all who feel they love God. It followed that, in contending for the direct agency of the blessed Spirit in the revelation of forgiving mercy, and for the creation thereby of the true Christian life, divines of Griffith's school were led to study more closely, and more reverently to magnify the other works and ways of the same almighty Agent. What could not He effect by such a mean upon the heart and habits with which He deigned to deal? And was it not He also who had begun the "good work," calling, awakening, and convincing those whom He thus regenerated? If so, while, on the one hand, it might fairly be demanded from Calvinistic theologians that no limit but that of human infirmity should be placed upon His sanctifying grace; on the other, an identity was discovered with them in their opinions, and in much of their terminology, as to the processes preparatory to conversion. If they spoke more frequently of these processes, while Methodists were accustomed to dwell rather on the accomplishment and perfection of the change itself, both were agreed as to the absolute necessity of Divine influence, and as to the sovereignty of the Will which dispenses it.

It is certain that my father's brotherly intercourse with Mr. Griffith during the period of their co-pastorship in Manchester was of great service to the former. Joseph Cook, a preacher stationed at Rochdale, had attacked, with more virulence than ability, Wesley's published opinions on "the Witness of the Spirit," and Griffith, Hare, and Bunting, near neighbors, and

devout students of Scripture, pondered deeply the theology in which they had been trained. Griffith moulded, though he did not change, the sentiments of his two brethren. Mr. Hare replied to Cook; and the utmost exactness of conception and of statement was imperatively needed, in order to worst a foe whose subsequent history proved that a doubt of the possibility of any spiritual influence lay at the foundation of his system. It was at this time, I conceive, that my father ascertained more clearly the truth and the relations of the doctrine in dispute. Thenceforth, if Fletcher's controversial statements differ, here and there, a shade from the dogmatic teachings of Wesley, Jabez Bunting adopted the latter as his own creed, and preached, with greater freedom and force than before, the Gospel of the Gracious Father and of the Atoning Son, but also, as unspeakably important to lapsed and miserable man, the Gospel of the Holy Ghost.

The intimacy formed as I have described was continued and increased as the two friends attained yet greater maturity. Four of my father's children—all, indeed, in whose case it was possible—were received by Griffith into the Christian discipleship in the Sacrament of Baptism. Death only interrupted a friendship so close, and so mutually sweet and helpful. Upon those who witnessed Griffith's last hours, his "doctrine" dropped "as the rain," and his "speech" distilled "as the dew." "Let all go," he cried, "but Christ and heaven." Then, having himself partaken of, and having administered to those around him, the memorials of his Savior's death, he calmly faced his own, and, body and soul preserved unto everlasting life, went triumphantly to Paradise.

The relief given to my father by his release from the pressure of metropolitan engagements was very grateful. He had cherished large projects of study and improvement before a short career in London taught him that his services were not to be confined to the usual circle of ministerial usefulness. Sooner or later, he was to become a public man. Now he sought to improve the short period of intervening leisure so as to fit himself for what lay before him. He resumed, accordingly, the systematic pursuits which had been interrupted, and especially that active, every-day discharge of the duties of a Methodist preacher, which is the best preparative for the general service of Methodism.



Three months after his arrival in Manchester he became a father. There is a tradition that he was absent from the house when his eldest son was born. On his return, and when the birth was announced to him, he fell on his knees, and poured forth one of those pleasing prayers for which, through life, he was so remarkable, imploring, in particular, that, if God should so will, the child might become a Methodist preacher. Then came a rush of paternal pride and joy so great, that his friend, Mr. Allen, reminds him that he had forgotten to seal the letter which took the good news to Macclesfield. The first fond wish of his fatherly heart was not denied to him.

I can only glance at the correspondence which comes within this period.

In a circular from the preachers in London, with Adam Clarke at their head, dated "November 30th, 1805," I find the first precedent of the Methodists presenting, in one sum, the moneys subscribed by them for purposes of national benevolence. On this occasion the contributions were devoted to the Patriotic Fund, raised for seamen and their widows and orphans, in connection with the great naval engagements of the time.

Mr. Entwisle writes to my father: "I fear we are not gaining ground in London. I am confirmed in the opinion that there are so many irons in the fire, and that so many things with which publicity and show are connected engage the attention of our leading friends, who are very active in doing good, that the work of conversion is hindered thereby. Every thing must give way for the sake of great collections, etc. Mr. Clarke and Mr. Benson are fully of the same opinion, and Mr. Clarke is quite distressed about it."

Mr. Taylor, my father's recent superintendent, thus writes to him from York on the occasion of the birth of his son: "He can not be a more useful member of society, nor a greater blessing to his parents than I wish him. May the God of Jacob bless the lad! And, if the Lord shall spare him to grow up, I pray that he may occupy the most holy and useful station in life. If you mean to keep him, don't suffer him to be a rival to Christ in your hearts. Our God is a jealous God. Are not the words of Parnell worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance?"

“ ‘To all but thee in fits he seemed to go;  
And 'twas my ministry to deal the blow.’

I am glad that you are so agreeably fixed. I had not a doubt but it would be the case. You are in the very centre of your friends, and have an extensive field of action before you. I entertain the highest opinion of your colleagues, and hope you will have a very prosperous year. But I still think as I did, that you are out of your place, and that you ought to have charge of such a circuit as this, or Burslem, or Nottingham. I am certain you have not sought those great circuits any more than I have done, but you will never get out of them except you become as stiff as an oak of a hundred years old. If my wife and I contributed in the least degree to your comfort in London, it gives us real pleasure. I thank you for thinking we did any thing worthy of your notice. It will always give me pleasure to serve you. Rodney” (the old gentleman’s dog) “got safe to York, and enjoys it much. He has a large yard to play in.”

In January, 1806, my father writes to my mother, then absent from home: “On Monday morning, at 7 o’clock, I met the other preachers at Mr. Broadhurst’s, in order to converse with Mr. Broadhurst and his friends on the subject of the apprehended division. There is now no doubt that a separation will take place. Three local preachers and five leaders have already declared their resolution not to submit to the proposals of the preachers and of the leaders’ meeting. They positively object, among other things, to allow that one of the preachers shall have the privilege of attending and conducting the North Street band. On Thursday night the business will be finally decided. It is a painful occurrence, but will, I doubt not, be best upon the whole, as a schism from the body will be a less evil than a schism in it.”

The passage just quoted introduces me to the first of a series of controversies in which it was my father’s lot to be engaged, within his own communion, during a long ministerial life. Reference has already been made to a party which had formed itself in the Manchester Society, under the auspices of Mr. Broadhurst and of his friends.\* This party had separated it-

\* Pages 94 and 137.

self in 1803, but had been again received into fellowship upon terms which checked, and ought to have terminated, all irregularities. But "strange fire" is not easily put out; and the ministers on the circuit, gradually ceasing all effort to extinguish it, and regarding division as inevitable, concerned themselves chiefly to preserve in unity and peace those who were not committed to the movement. "I have no written memoranda that I know of," says Mr. Jenkins, who had been superintendent in 1803, "but the articles of agreement I well remember. They were the following: First. No one should be admitted into the band (so called) without producing a society ticket, or a note from an itinerant preacher. (It was stated particularly that the meeting, with respect to admission, should be on the same footing as our love-feasts.) Secondly. That an itinerant preacher should attend and direct the meeting as often as we could make it convenient. But it was added that these regulations should be introduced, not abruptly, but gradually, and that Mr. Broadhurst should, for two or three Sundays, stand at the door, and prevent those only from going in whom he judged improper, and should give notice of the regulations agreed on, and that then they should be enforced with all strictness. Mr. Broadhurst entered on his work, and we put North Street band in our Sunday plan. Mr. Hearnshaw attended once or twice, and Mr. Pipe once, or perhaps twice; but the people were so exceedingly irregular and ungovernable, that, without saying any thing to them, we, concluding their reformation hopeless, gave them up, and only resolved to keep our authority in our own meetings, which we did. We thought that our attending their meeting gave it a countenance, and was an inducement to many to go who seldom went at any other time. We thought, also, that there was a danger of leading hundreds of our people, who had but little opportunity of obtaining better information, to think that the Revival Band, and such meetings, were a part of Methodism, seeing that the preachers themselves attended and conducted them. We therefore changed our plan of operation; not through any cowardice or fear of consequences as it respected ourselves, but from a free consideration of the means of obtaining the great end, the promotion of the cause of God, under the name of Methodism. We thought, first, by keeping our authority in-

violate in all our own meetings; secondly, letting the people see, on all proper occasions, that we disapproved of the peculiarities of the party, and that they were contrary to Methodism; thirdly, keeping the leaders of the party in their proper place in the Leaders' meeting; fourthly, making no one a new leader who was known to go to that band; and, lastly, the promotion of our own bands at the same hour as much as possible, would be the most effectual way of bringing them to nothing, without injuring the society. It would not be plucking up the tares, but draining the moisture from the root, and preventing the sun from shining on them; so that they must, supposing the means to be continued, ultimately, though not immediately, wither away. I went on steadily on this plan, though I divulged my reasons, I think, to none, except Mr. Clarke, Mr. Hearnshaw, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Redfern. But we had, every week, additional reasons to think we were right, and that the others, by having their full liberty, would soon be infamous and come to nothing, while we saved all who were worth having. I throw these hints together, and I pray and trust the Lord will direct in every step for the best. Be firm, but calm; hard arguments in soft words."

The dissentients at length broke out into open mutiny, and the contest became narrowed to a specific issue. Was it expedient, or even right, that there should be indiscriminate admission to a meeting held for the relation of Christian experience? The ministers of the circuit, supported by a very large majority of the leaders, decided this question in the negative. The opposers, in the first instance, appeared to approve of this conclusion; but they insisted that persons appointed by themselves, and not by the Leaders' meeting, should determine what persons it was proper to admit, declining, at the same time, all farther discussion. A friendly conference, however, was sought and obtained, at which the banner of rebellion was again unfurled; and it was frankly declared that, in future, no minister would be permitted to conduct the obnoxious meetings. "In conversing on the reason of their differing in opinion, one of the friends pleaded that the plan of conducting the meeting in North Street had been of long continuance, and, therefore, ought not to be altered; to which it was answered that, by the same mode of reasoning, every heresy and schism which



has ever sprung up in the Christian Church ought to have continued to this day; that the point is not how long a thing has continued, but whether it be according to the Word of God." "It was farther urged that great good had been done in that meeting, and that, therefore, the plan of general admission ought not to be altered. To this it was answered that, admitting some good had been done in it, yet it was certain also that much evil had been done; that many persons had been there-taught to believe themselves to be both justified and sanctified, who, in fact, were not awakened to a sense of their guilt and misery, and that many well-meaning persons had been so disgusted at the manner of conducting the meetings as to keep away from all the Methodist places of worship in the town. It was added that neither the good nor the evil resulting should direct our conduct, but the Holy Scriptures. On all occasions, but more especially in what respects the worship of God, we must have recourse 'to the law and to the testimony.'"

No accommodation of the dispute was possible, and a voluntary separation immediately ensued. In some passages of "A Statement of Facts and Observations relative to the late Separation from the Methodist Society in Manchester, affectionately addressed to the members of that Body by their Preachers and Leaders," my father's hand may be traced in them; at all events, in the way of revision. Some extracts are therefore placed in the Appendix,\* which, if I am not mistaken, state, with admirable clearness, some important principles. Not improbably, it was during this period that my father fully matured his own views on the series of general questions involved in the local dispute. The more those views are studied, the more justly and gratefully will future Methodists appreciate them. There are two tests by which the conduct of a public man, in seasons of controversy, may be fairly tried. The one is the principle itself for which he contends; the other, its consistency with other principles, to which, by position or direct profession, he stands honorably pledged. I am quite content that my father's conduct in the present case shall be strictly scrutinized.

The separatists formed themselves into a distinct connection. I have not time to write their entomology. In 1808 they numbered sixteen congregations, all in Lancashire or Cheshire, with

\* See Appendix K at the end of this volume.

some twenty-eight preachers, and had found out "that a Gospel ministry is of Divine appointment, Jesus having first appointed the apostles to the important work, and authorized them to set apart others also successively to the end of time." Some remnant of them still exists. I once knew a very good man who professed to belong to them, and who was accustomed to preach; but, beyond all possibility of mistake, he had gone "a warfare at his own charges." The best of the sect gradually merged, it may be conjectured, in the congregations soon afterward formed by a body, of whom it is a real pleasure to speak well, but to whom it is difficult to give its proper name. The common appellation of Ranters I, not less than they, should consider as insulting, since it makes prominent extravagances which, perhaps, can not be wholly avoided in those classes of society among which chiefly they labor; yet the title of "Primitive Methodists," which they have formally adopted, savors of injustice to the mother Church. The same name has been adopted by those seceders from the Wesleyan Connection in Ireland who still profess to be both Churchmen and Methodists. It speaks well for the moderation of the great mass of John Wesley's followers that both the very regular and the very irregular parties who have left them thus claim to be "Primitive." Probably neither is right.

Mr. Hopwood, an intimate friend of my father, when he resided in London, writes to him as follows on a subject which excited Adam Clarke's solicitude more than fifty years ago, and which is still one of anxious concern. "A few weeks ago, Mr. Clarke, after conferring with his brethren, the traveling preachers, called the local and community\* preachers together, to lay before them the state of the society in London, which he considered on the increase, not by persons awakened and converted in London, but rather by those, already Methodists, coming to reside there. Under this impression, the friends assembled were unanimous in determining that something ought to be done to serve the city of London; and that, if its inhabitants will not come to our chapels to hear the word of life, we ought, if possible, to carry the Gospel to them. To effect this is a subject of serious consideration. All that appears practicable at

\* The community preachers, a class unknown by that name out of London, were, properly speaking, exhorters.

present is earnest prayer to God to make our way prosperous, and to open rooms, in eligible parts of the town, for prayer and preaching, as circumstances may offer. On this plan, Golden Lane, Friars' Mount, and Drury Lane Schools are opened for preaching at 6 o'clock on the Lord's-day evening. At the same time, a large warehouse in Lombard Street, Fleet Street, fitted up by Mr. Butterworth, was opened as a preaching-room by Mr. Clarke last Lord's-day. Several other rooms have been opened for the same purposes. May the great Head of the Church crown with success these feeble attempts!"

In many of the letters written to my father from London about this time there are notices of the great attention excited by Adam Clarke's preaching, and of the heavenly unction which attended it; but he used his authority as superintendent, and, in order to secure time for his literary pursuits, preached on the Sunday and on two nights a week only. His colleagues cheerfully acquiesced in this arrangement, and deserve, therefore, some of the credit which attaches to the result of his studies. It is pleasant also to read, in these same letters, testimonies from such persons as Joseph Entwisle and Mrs. Mortimer to the talents and acceptableness of the late venerable Jacob Stanley, then a minister of eight years' standing.

Mr. Morley writes to my father: "As to myself, I am striving to be diligent in the work of the Lord. I formerly thought, perhaps I may make such improvement as to be satisfied with myself. But I find myself as defective as ever. Do help me by your advice and your prayers. If I did not love my work, I should be unhappy indeed, for I am fully employed. To use our friend Birchinal's expression, I have but little 'time to think,' and yet I must read; though, perhaps, if I read less and thought more, it would be more to my advantage. Yesterday week was a good day. It was the first day I had had wholly to myself (except a few Saturdays) since I have been in the circuit. At Lane End we are low, but in all the principal places the good work is reviving. I shall never cease to be thankful for the visit you paid us last August; and others besides myself have cause to remember it. The sermon you preached at Newcastle was blessed to many. A man who lives in a neighboring village, and who was much inclined to drunkenness and Deism, was convinced of sin that morning. In at-

tempting to give me an account of the sermon, and of its effect upon him, he said, 'Oh, what a *sarment* that was! Every word cut.' Since then he has joined the society, and has preaching in his house. Several of his neighbors are awakened, and I hope much good will be done."

Father Jeremiah Brettell evidently never forgot George Lukins and the evil spirits which dwelt in him.\* In 1806 he transmits some curious matter. "We have one little phenomenon. Mrs. Wilshaw, in the Banwell Circuit, frequently preaches for her husband, and has lately visited two or three places in the circuit; and she was very popular indeed. I might also add another, in the reclaim of three notorious sinners in this circuit; one under the ministry of Mr. and Mrs. Wilshaw (for they both preach one sermon; he begins, and she finishes it), and the other two were strangely pursued and threatened by devils in human shape, till, in the issue, they were constrained to come to Christ. I have conversed with each of them, and their account is uncommonly singular. Happy should I be to see many more thoroughly frightened from their sins, and brought to feel true repentance."

"Having seen before," says Mr. Entwisle, "the sad consequences of religious disputes and divisions in Christian societies, I felt a considerable degree of anxiety on the receipt of your account of the breach in Manchester; attended, however, with a hope that it would be best in the end. Your printed statement proves to me that the division is not an evil; and the manner in which the whole affair has been conducted does honor to the persons concerned, and affords proof to the world that even religious disputes may be conducted with meekness and wisdom. Mr. Wood was one of the most proper men in the connection to settle such a business. I am inclined to think that the division has taken place at the right time; and the long forbearance of the preachers and leaders, with the concessions frequently made to the malcontents, for peace' sake, leave them without excuse. Yet I think all these things, taken together, distinctly mark out our line of conduct in future, *i. e.*, to pay a sacred regard to established rule and order, with meek firmness, leaving all consequences to God. Upon the exercise of Christian discipline in our societies our future usefulness greatly depends."

\* See page 123.



During the spring of 1806, Mr. Lomas, the book-steward, made strenuous efforts, with the view of being relieved, at the Conference, from his office, and of again engaging in the usual duties of the ministry. Application was made to several ministers to induce them to succeed him, but in vain. Mr. Lomas therefore corresponded with my father on the subject of appointing a layman, and one was nominated and requested to occupy the position. Eventually, however, Mr. Lomas remained in it. A subsequent regulation of the Conference seems to imply that, unless the law be altered, a minister only is eligible.

A letter addressed by my father to my mother gives some account of the Conference which this year assembled at Leeds. "You will, perhaps, expect some Conference news, and I will try to scrape together a few fragments. I heard Mr. Davies, Mr. Sutcliffe, and Mr. Clarke in Leeds on Sunday, and Mr. Clarke also at Armley, a village in the neighborhood; all excellent sermons. It was a remarkably good day. I have seldom heard such preaching, or spent so profitable and pleasant a Lord's-day. Monday evening, Mr. Benson preached on 'Be thou faithful unto death,' etc.; a very good sermon. Last night Mr. Jenkins discoursed on 'the foolishness of preaching.' He burned and shone exceedingly. I had no notion that he could rise so high. To-night Mr. Bradburn is preaching. Our morning preachers have been Messrs. Fish, Bridgnell, and Henshaw. When the Conference met on Monday, Mr. Clarke earnestly begged that, in choosing a president, none would throw away their votes (as some had intimated it was their intention to do) on him, for that a regard to his health, and other reasons, would not permit him to accept the chair. The votes, however, were, Clarke, twenty-three; Benson, twelve; Barber, twelve; Taylor, eight; and, at last, Mr. Clarke was literally dragged into the office,\* which he fills, on the whole, very ably. Dr. Coke was chosen secretary by a small majority. Mr. Benson had nearly superseded him. It was then proposed to elect an assistant secretary, and, after an ineffectual struggle on my part, I was compelled to take my seat in that character. This is a real misfortune; first, because it will occupy much of my leisure hours, and materially diminish my opportunities of hearing, preaching, seeing my friends, etc.; and, secondly, be-

\* See Dr. ETHERIDGE's Life of Dr. Clarke, p. 211.

cause it will compel me to tarry in Leeds till the very conclusion of the Conference, if not a day or two longer. On the other hand, I secure by it the advantages of occupying a capital station in the Conference, close to the president's chair, where I see and hear every thing, and of gaining considerable information on our affairs."

It does not appear at whose instance my father was elected assistant secretary. His capacity for business must have become known to his colleagues, particularly when he resided in London. Previous to this Conference he had rendered great assistance to Dr. Coke, who for several years had acted as secretary. Nor can my father's influence be traced on the legislation of the Conference during this session. The most remarkable transaction of the year was the appointment of home missionaries to large districts of England, independently, to some extent, of the well-tried circuit system; an experiment which, after a few years' trial, did not answer the expectations formed of it. An important act of discipline was the trial and expulsion of Joseph Cook, to whose heresies I have before adverted. I can hardly picture to myself my father sitting silent while the conversation on this topic proceeded, but there is no evidence that he spoke on the occasion. He took part in some grave discussions, and particularly in those on the question whether the letter left by Pawson for publication after his decease should be published. This letter was too general in its statements as to the existence in the body, and especially among the preachers, of certain serious evils, and descended even to the details of the dress of the preachers' wives. My father proposed that the circulation of the document should be confined to the preachers themselves. He had the good sense to see that, even were the complaints well founded, they must be rectified within rather than without the walls of Conference. He spoke also on a case of discipline, and, in opposition to the earnest recommendation of the president, urged that the offender should be dismissed. The published minutes of the year passed under his revision as assistant secretary, the first of a series of tasks of the same kind which he performed, with more or less of official responsibility, for nearly fifty years. In each such instance, every word and figure was scrupulously examined; and scarcely an error, however trivial, escaped his eye.

He knew what heart-burnings the simple misprint of a name might cause. Dr. Coke writes to him on the 31st of August, "Many thanks for your perfectly exact journals."

Shortly after his return home, my father thus addressed the Commissioners of the Income Tax :

"GENTLEMEN,—I avail myself of the permission which is granted in the printed notices respecting the duty on property, etc., to make the return of my professional income on a separate sheet. I am an itinerant preacher in the Methodist connection, established by the late Rev. Mr. Wesley. The societies in that connection do not support their ministers, as is usual among other religious denominations, by fixed and regular salaries, but by sundry small allowances, which differ considerably in different places, and which are varied from time to time, according to the actual wants of the preachers, and in proportion to the number and necessities of their families. This peculiarity in our plan renders it difficult for me to give an exact account of my income. But I hereby declare that, according to the best of my judgment and belief, the various allowances which I have received for the support of myself and my family during the year which began August 5th, 1805, on which day I left my last station in order to exercise my profession at Manchester, and ending August 5th, 1806, did not amount to more than eighty-three pounds.\*

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"JABEZ BUNTING."

The mode of providing for the maintenance of Methodist ministers described in this letter will excite surprise in quarters where it is not already understood. It commanded my father's most hearty approval. The principle involved in it appears to be that they who preach the Gospel shall "live" of the Gospel, but that no gain or profit shall, by any possibility, be made of the office of the ministry. Thus explained, it provides also for the subsistence of those legitimately dependent upon the minister; but it is directly opposed to all idea of remuneration for the service rendered by him. To whatever

\* This reckoning did not include any estimate of the value of the furnished house provided for him by the society.

privations it may expose him, it possesses obvious advantages. The apostolic rule, rigorously defined and acted on, is protected against those who profess to go beyond it, but who think a great deal more of what they pay than of what they get, and who dole out the same miserable stipend to their famishing teacher, whatever may be the extent or peculiarity of his domestic engagements. All kinds of ministerial talent, too, are, on this plan, fairly considered and dealt with: the facile oratory of the idol of the county town has no better claim than the modest learning or the pastoral diligence which flourishes in the country district; a consideration of great importance in the case of a connection of ministers where the comfort of each is necessary to the welfare of the whole, and where jealousies so readily "spring up and trouble." The system, moreover, takes away some inducements which tempt unworthy men to pursue the sacred calling. Without finding fault, then, with the adoption of other methods by other Christian communities, or by separate Churches, my father clung firmly to the preservation among the Methodists of the original theory and practice of that body. His experience had shown him that, where these were relaxed and salaries paid, the comforts of his brethren were abridged; and he deprecated any innovations which should, even in appearance, widen the distinction between the more popular and the less acceptable classes of them. He counted it little less than treason if any Methodist minister sought an advantage for himself which in principle was not applicable to the entire fraternity.

It is my province to state rather than to vindicate my father's opinions on this subject; but there are two objections to them which ought to be met. The first is one of mere detail. If the immediate wants only of a minister and of his family are to be supplied, how is he to provide for "a rainy day"—for the failure of health, for old age, and for the dear ones he must one day leave behind him? Theoretically, all these difficulties are removed by the financial system of the connection. The invalid, and the laborer too tired to work, as also their surviving widows, receive pensions from the society; and allowances are made for the maintenance and education of their children until they are, or ought to be, able to help themselves. We can not make any boast as to the amount of these pensions. It is not



to our credit that we do not so much as pretend to find more than about one half of the amount which we deem necessary for the purpose, leaving the ministers to obtain the rest from their own fund; this latter fed chiefly by their own contributions, saved out of allowances barely sufficient for their daily subsistence. The payment of some six or seven guineas a year out of the scanty pittance (scanty in fact, if not in relation to the means of their flocks) allowed to many of them in aid-receiving circuits, is an injustice and an anomaly, against which the son of a minister, who was often sorely straitened to make ends meet, may be allowed respectfully to protest. I have the strongest conviction that it is not generally known and understood. But there is a second objection to the principle of sustentation as opposed to that of remuneration. It will be asked, Are there no prizes in the Methodist connection? The answer is both negative and affirmative. There is no very considerable difference, looking at every aspect of the case, between the amount received in one circuit and that received in another. The position which insures the larger amount of allowance often requires a still larger amount of expenditure. The minister at Banff and the minister in London must practice an equal economy, and the chances are that they may, ere long, change places. Yet there is an affirmative answer also. Differences do exist so far as money, and the advantages it purchases, are concerned, and the companionship, and other means of enjoyment and improvement to be found in one station vary greatly from those to be found in another. Hitherto the history of the body has shown that these furnish incentives quite powerful enough to excite a healthy competition. But I may be allowed to doubt how far such excitement is of any great or permanent service. I admit the natural and lawful operation of inferior motives; but they will prompt to little that is good if the highest motive be wanting, and, where that exists, the absence of the other will not be felt.

And how cheerfully are all privations borne! Mr. Entwisle, now stationed at Rochester; thus writes to my father in September, 1806: "During the five days I am at Sheerness, I preach five times and meet three classes, which contain nearly half the society; we do the same at Rochester; a most excellent plan, in my opinion. I expect, when all improper persons

are left out, and Sittingbourne taken from us, we shall be reduced in numbers to about three hundred and forty. However, I feel such a degree of responsibility to God and to my brethren, and such a conviction of the utility and necessity of the old Methodist discipline, that I am resolved, in the fear of God, to re-establish it; and I am happy to find that this will be agreeable to our leading friends, who will unite with me in the work. This is a bare pasture as to money matters. They are generally working people. I must expend, as I calculate, sixty pounds of my own private property this year. The Lord be praised that I have the means of providing pudding, clothes, and learning for my dear children!"

I can not omit all reference to a letter, couched in terms of ardent gratitude, written about this time by a young minister whose orthodoxy had been impugned at the preceding Conference, but to whose high character and abilities my father had, in the time of need, borne cheerful testimony. It was sometimes said of Jabez Bunting that he so exerted the influence which he gradually acquired in the connection as occasionally to depress real merit. This was one of countless cases in which, without doubt, he employed it to favor great, but, as yet, undistinguished excellence. The minister referred to ran a long course of unpopularity with the many, but of signal esteem on the part of the discerning few. He was frigid in manner, and not very free of speech; but those who were content to wait while his thoughts struggled for expression, found in his ministrations rich treasures of evangelical truth and feeling, dug deeply out of God's own Holy Word, and wrought with artistic skill and fervor. My father continued to be his steady friend, and never suffered him to be grieved or the connection to be degraded by his appointment to any circuit where his peculiar gifts could not find fit, if narrow exercise. I do not record his name. Those who knew him will know his portrait.

My father, when resident in London, had formed a cordial friendship with a young man, then known chiefly to a few Methodists in Lambeth, with whom he was united in Church fellowship, but whose name is now honorably distinguished both in Europe and in America. In his own department of literature, England has no son whom she owns more proudly

than Thomas Hartwell Horne. A letter addressed to my father toward the close of 1806 runs as follows: "With this I forward for your consideration a copy of the plan I adverted to in my last hastily-written note. As that copy has been lost, I had no alternative but to draw up another, *de novo*, from my rough memoranda—a task of some time and labor, which I by no means regret, inasmuch as I have thus been favored with an opportunity of introducing some additions and corrections, which, in my apprehension, render it as perfect as a plan of such a nature can well be. You will, perhaps, think my design too bold—too comprehensive to be successfully executed by an individual layman. Referring you to my views and motives as expressed in my note of the 25th ultimo, I would only add that, having meditated upon the subject, and considered its various branches, I have sometimes thought I had sketched out too much for one person to execute. Mr. Edwards, who is convinced of the practical utility of the plan, has, in fact, suggested that so extensive an undertaking might be achieved better by the united exertions of two individuals. And who so fit as yourself, if you can command sufficient time for such a pursuit? I should rejoice in such a co-laborer in a work which, I am persuaded, is calculated to be of permanent utility to the Christian Church. Such an undertaking demands much reflection; but, in the event of your being at leisure for the purpose, mutual arrangements might be made for carrying the design into effect, which the limits of this will not allow me even to hint at. Mr. Edwards is of opinion that it would not be advisable to announce it to the booksellers at present; but, when any final arrangement is made as to the mode of executing the proposed edition of the Bible, he intends to make serious efforts to bring it forward. When you have fully weighed the matter, may I beg the favor of a few remarks, addressed to me either under cover at Mr. Edwards's, or directly to me at Mr. Butterworth's? I have, in fact, abandoned the law (as I think I intimated when you were lately in town), and have taken a confidential appointment with an estimable friend, which is of a multifarious nature, but to me it is certainly most agreeable, and it leaves me some hours every day for literary pursuits. I have nothing that I can offer worthy of your perusal. My time has of late been closely occupied in

finishing two or three laborious indexes (one of them a Latin one to some records for government). I have, however, much, very much cause for gratitude that I have been preserved, with some slight exceptions, in health and strength of mind and body, amid some very severe domestic vexations, and that I am enabled to encounter severe nocturnal exertions. I have the pleasure to inform you that at length the lease has this evening been signed by the landlord and trustees of an eligible spot of ground on which to erect a chapel for our Lambeth congregation and society. It offers a prospect of extensive usefulness. To-morrow evening the service will commence at half past 6, after which such of the trustees as are present will be called upon to confirm their subscriptions,\* after which the members and other friends, of whom by no means an inconsiderable number have been invited by letter, will be called upon to give, according to their ability. We do hope and trust they will do liberally toward this 'great work.' Our Sunday-school consists of about two hundred and thirty children, of whom it is intended to take the whole to the chapel when erected; a more grateful office to teachers, as well as children, than the taking a small number at alternate periods to Lambeth Church, where they are unavoidably but indifferently accommodated. We are encouraged greatly in our work by the reformed conduct of the unruly, and the orderly deportment, in general, of the rest; but, what is of infinitely greater moment, we have reason to believe that some of them have received good impressions to good purpose."†

"\* A subscription was entered into by those present at Mr. Butterworth's this evening, which amounted to £741 5s."

† The venerable writer will forgive me if, lest I should break the continuity of my narrative, I place in a note, rather than in the text, his own interesting comment upon a letter written by him fifty-two years ago. In answer to an application for leave to make use of his correspondence, he writes: "You take no liberty in writing to me. After a laborious and active literary career of sixty years, I am now, at the age of seventy-nine and a quarter, obliged to give up literary engagements, and am thankful that I can yet be of a little service to others as a sort of chamber-counsel. I hope that this communication may not be unacceptable to you. I regret that I have no letters of my revered friend, the Rev. Dr. Bunting. To say the truth, I had quite forgotten that I had ever consulted him on literary topics! I thank you for communicating the three letters, now returned in a separate envelope. You will make any use of either of them, as you think



In December, 1806, my father welcomed into the world his second child and eldest daughter, shortly afterward baptized

proper. The *res angusta domi* early led me to literature as an auxiliary means of support. My earliest publication was 'A brief View of the Necessity and Truth of the Christian Revelation;' the result of notes written in my eighteenth year, and it was published in 1800, in my nineteenth year. I was then most anxiously reading to find out the truth. Eventually it led me, through Divine grace and mercy, to the diligent and prayerful study of the Scriptures, and finally to my undertaking the 'Introduction to the Study' of them, by which I am chiefly known, having been spared forty years since its first publication; and I have been permitted, or, rather, Divinely favored, to know that my work is as useful now as it ever was. The Lord be praised for this distinguished mercy! I now come more immediately to the occasion of the letters which were written to Dr. Bunting. Previously to my undertaking the Introduction, I had sketched a prospectus for an edition of the English Bible, in which the Books of the Old and New Testament should be inserted chronologically, and with a biblical commentary; that is, one in the very words of Scripture. A general *Introduction* was to be prefixed; which growing in my hands, I finally dropped the idea of a biblical commentary, and bent all my efforts to the 'Introduction to the Critical Study of the Holy Scriptures,' the first edition of which was published in June, 1818. Toward the close of the first volume, I sketched a plan for arranging the Books of the Old and New Testament chronologically. This arrested the attention of a young and vigorous scholar, the late Rev. Dr. Townsend, Canon of Durham. Having been educated at Christ's Hospital (where I received the rudiments of classical learning between 1789 and 1795), Mr. Townsend called upon me, as an old 'Blue,' for my counsel, as he proposed to undertake such a work. Being at that time deeply engaged in combating the effects of infidelity, I was but too happy to give him my best advice, and also the materials I had collected for an improved Harmony of the Four Gospels. In due time Mr. Townsend produced his truly valuable Harmonies of the New and Old Testaments, with learned notes, in four volumes 8vo: the whole, I am persuaded, being much better executed than I could myself have done it. And, just now, the Bible, with a strictly biblical commentary, has been published in three handsome quarto volumes, with maps, etc., by the Messrs. Bagster. It appears to me most admirably done. I do not know who the editors are. *No one person could have accomplished such a work.* In fact, it supersedes every work which has been published, containing parallel references at length. The last time I had the pleasure of meeting your venerable father (I think) was in 1853, at the Mansion House, where he had been respectfully invited to be present at a missionary meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and I had the great satisfaction to see him treated with the regard due to his years and station, and comfortably seated on the platform. As Dr. Bunting published so little, what think you of annexing, by way of appendix to your memoirs, the sermons heretofore printed?"

by Mr. Griffith as Sarah Maclardie. She was a very tender lamb, and the Good Shepherd soon gathered her in His arms.

I find in the correspondence about the close of 1806 and the commencement of 1807 notices of the establishment by my father of periodical meetings between himself and those ministers in his immediate neighborhood in whose affection and judgment he felt special confidence. It seems to have been his wish that they should converse freely together, not so much on Church economics and arrangements as about the topics exclusively appropriate to their vocation. These conferences were held at Manchester and at the adjacent towns, as convenience allowed, and were immediately followed by watch-night services, which the people were invited to attend. One of them took place at Rochdale on April 8th, 1807. There is no account of the private conversations of the assembled preachers, but it appears from my father's text-book that in the evening he discoursed upon Mark, vi., 6; a subject he frequently selected on occasions which he deemed of special importance. Griffith, Marsden, Macdonald, Martindale, Hare, Morley, Timothy Crowther, Townley, Sutcliffe, Samuel Taylor, and Denton, ministers from Manchester, Rochdale, Halifax, Bury, Blackburn, Stockport, Macclesfield, and Newcastle-under-Lyne, were among his auditors. The meetings were frequently repeated. Would that some such plan were possible and common in our own time! The intercourse, so beneficial to themselves, their people, and the general interests of Methodism, between Methodist ministers, even in the same circuit, will, in this age of hurry, inevitably become less intimate as the calls upon ministerial attention multiply, unless great pains be taken to avoid so great an evil. My father, one of the busiest men in the connection, made it his study, during his entire course, to familiarize himself with those with whom he was associated in the pastoral charge.

"I am delighted," says Mr. Entwisle, "with your new plan, and long for an opportunity of enjoying the benefit of it. I wonder it has not been thought of, and, indeed, become general before this time. It certainly is calculated to do much good both to preachers and people. Conversations on our most important doctrines and discipline, etc., will keep alive in the minds of the preachers a sense of their importance; and

sermons and exhortations delivered under such views and feelings are sure to be followed with the Divine blessing. The doctrines preached by Messrs. Wesley, Grimshaw, etc., in the beginning, accompanied with the power of the Holy Ghost, did wonders. And the same truths are now equally important, equally necessary, and may be equally efficacious. Primitive Methodism I admire; and, I think, I come nearer than ever to that standard. I resolved, when I came into Kent, to preach, in the most explicit and direct manner, the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. By so doing, my own soul has been unusually blessed, my views enlarged, my zeal for God and the salvation of souls increased, and my labors, glory to God alone! crowned with success beyond what I have known before. The account you give of your meeting at Manchester, Oldham, etc., would lead me almost to envy your situation, were it lawful. But I have learned in every state to be content. I mentioned the plan to William Vipond (a man of a thousand, I assure you, both for piety and abilities\*), and he earnestly wishes that we may follow your example."

In the spring of this year the effort was renewed to engage my father's services for the Sheffield Circuit. Mr. Holy addressed a letter to him on the subject; but ROBERT NEWTON, then on a visit to Manchester, was commissioned to advocate the case in person. Two or three years before this period (I can not fix the precise date), my father, sitting in the Conference, was pleasurably startled by the entrance of a tall young man, whose person, singularly handsome, was rendered yet more attractive by the unusual costume in which he presented himself. The coat lacked the true canonical cut, which forbade the appearance of an angle; and not a few must have contrasted the general plainness of their own habiliments with the yellow buckskins and tight top-boots which the young minister was the first, and, I believe, the last to exhibit in that grave assembly. But in this guise there sat down among them—quite unconscious that the garb he usually wore in a circuit, where the horse did only less service than his rider, was at all peculiar—a man who was thereafter to become pre-eminently famous as a preacher and an orator, and still more so for the warm and healthy beat of his large Methodist heart, for the

\* See Memoir of him in the Methodist Magazine for 1810 and 1811.

spotless consistency of his ministerial character, and for his strict and nice attention to the proprieties of his peculiar position. My father often told how, when he first saw the stranger, his heart yearned after him, and how he resolved to seek an early intimacy. The story of that long, laborious, and triumphant course has been so admirably told, that any attempt to epitomize it would be presumptuous.\* It is closely interwoven with that of my father. Doubtless, on the occasion of Robert Newton's visit to Manchester, to secure his friend as his colleague at Sheffield, their knowledge of each other was increased, and their mutual affection established forever.

Similar invitations came from Liverpool, Bristol, York, Leeds, and other places. It is observable that the invitation from the town last named came from the trustees, and not from the Quarterly meeting. I believe no reply was returned to it. To the letters from other places, as indeed to the effective advocate from Sheffield, an answer, almost uniform, was given, declining to make any engagement whatever.

Among other efforts in the Manchester Circuit was one to increase the fund devoted to the relief of the poor of the society. A printed letter, addressed to the congregations, was issued by the ministers and stewards, announcing the substitution of a quarterly public collection for that previously made monthly, and requesting periodical private subscriptions. The claims of the poor of "the household of faith" were powerfully stated: "They are the brethren of the Savior himself; the living images of His former poverty." The exclusion of Methodists from the sphere of the operations of the "Strangers' Friend Society" was mentioned with something like approval; but my father subsequently thought, probably because special plans of helping the Methodist poor were not successful, that this exclusion was no longer justified. He considered that funds to which members of the body so liberally contributed should not be subject to any limitation whatever as to the objects of the public bounty, least of all to one which in appearance, if not in fact, bore hardly upon those whose relationship to us was so close and tender.

A very notorious name now appears in my narrative, to be

\* "The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton, D.D., by Thomas Jackson. London: John Mason."



dismissed without any observation. I quote the passage in which it occurs for the purpose of showing the interest which my father was already known to take, not only in the Church, but in the world around him. "I have lately been printing for the Princess of Wales," writes his friend, Mr. Edwards, at that time a well-known publisher in Crane Court, Fleet Street, "the proceedings and correspondence relative to the inquiry into her conduct, of which I should be glad to send you a copy, as I think it would be a gratification to you to go through it. But at present, at least, I can not, as it is not to be published, notwithstanding I have printed two editions of it. It is an 8vo of 350 pages, and contains the whole of the very heavy charges against her, together with her defense, and a number of letters to and from his majesty on the business, altogether forming a very curious and interesting pamphlet. I think she acts wisely not to publish it, as, in my opinion, it would not acquit her in the public mind. The copies are very securely deposited in the possession of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and not one has gone abroad. I have been offered large sums for a single copy if I would part with one, but I have refused every application. A copy of this work will be counted a great curiosity. If I should hereafter find myself free to give you a sight of it, I shall cheerfully do it, and shall consider you among those of my friends whom I would first oblige in this way."

Mr. Hartwell Horne again addresses my father on April 8th, 1807. "So long a time has elapsed since I received your letter, and the kind strictures on my Prospectus, that my memory will not inform me whether I have yet acknowledged them. If not, I have to thank you for them, and to say that the idea of giving critical annotations, and also of arranging the Books chronologically, is relinquished. I had an interview with Messrs. Cadell and Davies yesterday on the subject, who expressed their approbation of the outline, and proposed to submit it to a critical friend, in the event of whose approbation they intimated a wish to treat with me, so that in the course of two or three months some decisive arrangements (I hope) will be made. The expense can not be less than £2000, on which account I was induced primarily to offer it to those booksellers; and such is the wayward fancy of the public, that

the respectability of the bookseller reflects credit on the author or editor. I can scarcely find time for any recreation whatever, hardly even the pleasure of writing so fully as I could wish to you, my dear sir, whom we do hope to see once more settled in London."

Mr. Rodda thus breathes one of his latest blessings on the cause and people he had served so faithfully: "Does my dear friend, on his knees, ever remember an old, worn-out, good-for-nothing pilgrim? If not, let these dull lines stir up thy pure mind by way of remembrance. I can now preach little, pray little; but my mind, in general, is in a praying frame, and He that reads the heart will not cast out the prayer of the destitute. I have said enough, perhaps too much, of myself. God has in wisdom and mercy bestowed a diversity of gifts, that every one of the hearers may receive a suitable portion in due season. How does His work prosper among and around you? Are sinners converted and saints edified? I long to hear of the flourishing state of our Church; though I can contribute so little to its prosperity, yet I wish it good luck. I must live and die saying of genuine Methodism, 'Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces! May salvation be inscribed on thy walls and bulwarks, and on thy gates praise; may thy ministers be filled with the Holy Spirit, clothed with righteousness; and may all the people put on the white linen of the saints; may thy religious society ever maintain that purity and simplicity of doctrine and discipline that have hitherto distinguished thee from those who say they are Jews, and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan; and may our Israel dwell alone, and not be reckoned among the nations! Then shalt thou be as the salt of the earth, a city on a hill that can not be hid.' My good wife desires a kind remembrance to Mrs. B. and yourself: she often says of you what David did of Goliath's sword."

My father's first ministry in Manchester closed with the Conference of 1807. The published minutes of that assembly contain evidences of his anxiety to introduce, gradually, some changes in the administration of the affairs of the connection, and to make the system more regular and intelligible. Among the changes, originating, I believe, chiefly with him, are rules providing that no person not competent to the regular minis-

try should be employed in any mission at home or abroad; insisting on the immediate emancipation of slaves belonging to any minister in the West Indies or to his wife; recognizing still more clearly the distinction between preachers formally set apart to the ministry and those still upon probation; requiring the attendance of all probationers at Conference for personal examination; regulating the jurisdiction of the Conference, considered as an appellate court rather than a court of first instance; and providing for the due order of the proceedings of that body. Some financial arrangements, also, evidently received his revision. This year, too, a prerogative was recognized as belonging to the president which hitherto had been exercised as matter of necessity and usage: he was authorized to supply, from the list of probationers approved by the Conference for that purpose, all vacancies in circuits or missions which might occur during the period of his office.

During the two years of my father's residence in Manchester he preached four hundred and fifty-seven sermons. The traces of his ministry are distinctly perceptible in the present flourishing condition of Methodism in that city. But from such facts as can, at this distance of time, be adduced in evidence, I infer that, while his preaching was very vigorous and successful, his usefulness was, perhaps, greater in other departments. Many young men were then connected with the society, some of them the friends of his youth, who were rapidly acquiring wealth and social influence. To these his counsels were, at such a period, of the greatest possible service. He not only fostered their piety, but he strongly impressed upon their character and opinions the stamp of his own distinctive excellences. In their lives of active and consistent goodness he multiplied himself; and in not a few of their children, whether by natural or spiritual descent, he still survives. Manchester owes to his labors much of that steady attachment to Methodism which has been so often and so severely tested, and which, considering the character, habits, and rapid and enormous increase of its population, is matter of both surprise and gratitude. It was meet that the place of his birth should be the scene of his early labors, and should thus preserve their enduring record.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## HIS EARLY MINISTRY IN SHEFFIELD.

Appointment to the Sheffield Circuit.—Colleagues.—Death of his infant Daughter.—Ministers' Meetings.—The Training of Candidates for the Ministry.—Samuel Bardsley.—The Location of Ministers.—Conference of 1808.—Edward Hare.—James Daniel Burton.—Edmund Grindrod.—Nightingale's "Portraiture of Methodism."—His Death-bed.—The Teaching of Writing in Sunday-schools.—Letters from Griffith and Robert Newton.—The Sacraments in Jersey.—Codification.—Methodist Ministers and Parish Apprentices.—The Right of attending the Conference.—Conference of 1809.—Birth of his second Daughter.—Reminiscences by Robert Newton's Widow.

Two of my father's colleagues in the Sheffield Circuit, to which he was appointed by the Conference of 1807, were men to whom he was already warmly attached; in the case of John Barber, by early obligations, before adverted to; and in that of Robert Newton, by a friendship whose least charm was novelty. ISAAC CLAYTON, also a co-pastor, was, as I have always understood, a modest and meritorious minister, but the popular estimation of his talents did not always obtain for him, during his subsequent course, positions of the same consideration as that which he now occupied.

To say nothing of the contiguity of Sheffield to Manchester and to Macclesfield, higher motives induced my father's grateful acceptance of this appointment. So to speak, he breathed his native air; for the bracing Methodism which had wafted spiritual health and vigor to the cottage homes at Monyash, took wing from the town where he now resided, and had fostered there a hardy race of veterans, of form and countenance such as he had always loved to look upon. The elder Longden, Holy, and Smith—Beet, Harwood, and Moss, were types of a large class of Yorkshire Methodists; plain, serious, and steady; well-to-do in this world, but living wholly for the next; cordially affectionate to Christ's cause, ministers, and poor, and earnestly active in doing good.

But a great trouble came upon him ere he had been many



days in his circuit. "Amid many mercies," he writes to his mother on the 3d of September, 1807, "we have also had some painful exercises since we saw you; but, blessed be God, the occasion of them is now, in a great measure, removed. Our dear little Sarah has had a violent attack of erysipelas; but the complaint appears to be subdued, and we hope she will soon be as well as usual." Soon afterward he writes again: "MY DEAREST MOTHER,—Two weeks ago you received, I suppose, by Mr. Martin, a letter from me, informing you of the illness of our dear little Sarah. I then hoped that she would soon be better, and I have been waiting from that time to this in almost daily expectation of being able to announce to you that she was out of danger. But alas! my expectations were delusive, and my hopes in that respect are now forever frustrated. It is my painful task to acquaint you that the dear, dear girl is no more an inhabitant of this dying world. She exchanged it for that in which there is no more death this morning at about half past 9 o'clock. Since Tuesday last we have all thought her considerably relieved, and no longer ago than yesterday were in high spirits concerning her. She appeared to receive food with more appetite than at any time since her seizure, and the inflammation seemed to be rapidly subsiding. Our only remaining fear was lest a cough, which had for several days been troublesome, should be the hooping-cough, caught from William, and lest her strength should sink under her complicated ailments; yet the return of her appetite and her general appearance led us to indulge better prospects. But about 11 o'clock last night her breathing became very laborious, and we perceived that some change had occurred. She never closed her eyes during the night but once, and that only for a short time, and about 9 o'clock the symptoms of immediate dissolution were very evident. Her departure was in the easiest and gentlest manner we could desire, the Lord being merciful unto us; and, at the hour before named, she took her flight to heaven, without a sigh or a struggle of any kind. 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven.' In our present disconsolate situation, under this visitation of Providence, you will excuse a long letter. I wish you were here, to weep with those that weep. I hope you, and all our dear friends, will pray that our heavy affliction may be sanctified, and that we may be graciously sup-

ported under it. I have not spirits for writing more than is necessary at present, and will, therefore, thank you to send this letter to Mr. Wood, Mr. Marsden, and Mr. Griffith. Their friendship for us we know to be such as will interest them in the intelligence of an event to us so mournful, and will secure for us their sympathy and their prayers."

On the 29th of September he again writes to his mother on the same subject: "Blessed be God, we are as well as we can expect to be after our melancholy bereavement. My dear wife was, as you suppose, deeply affected by a loss to her so peculiarly afflictive; but, through mercy, has in some measure recovered her serenity, and is striving with me to say, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!' But, though we do endeavor to submit ourselves unto God, it is impossible to describe the strange feeling of desolation which our minds still do, and must long experience. I trust the dispensation will do us much good. Our dear child was buried on Wednesday morning, the 15th instant, in the ground adjoining to our new chapel, which is opposite to the house we now live in, and will be still more contiguous to that which it is intended to build for our use. We feel a mournful pleasure in the idea that her mortal remains lie so near to us. Her mother and myself, with Mr. Barber, Mr. Newton, Mr. Clayton, Mrs. Newton, and Mrs. Holy, attended them to the grave. Wishing to have some memorial of her which might perpetuate to our minds the recollection of her countenance, and enable us still to realize her, in some degree, as one of our family circle, we employed an artist to make a drawing of her after her death. We hope it will be, when finished, a tolerable, though not a perfect likeness. I need make no apology to you for these circumstantial details. You will feel an interest in little particulars, the relation of which would seem tedious and foolish to others."

Very long and sadly did his mind dwell on this bereavement. Three months after it had occurred, he says, in a letter to my mother, then absent from home: "I am, I thank God, well in health, but very dull. I sit and look at Sherry's picture till I am miserable for want of some conversation to divert me from the melancholy recollections which it suggests." A little shoe the babe had worn was the constant companion of my mother's

solitary hours. I believe my father took possession of the other. There lies before me, in his handwriting, a sheet containing thirty-nine epitaphs, transcribed from various authors, and one or two of his own composition, out of which he selected that which was placed upon her tomb-stone. It was the text he had quoted in the letter to his mother announcing the decease. The first thought awakened by his sorrow gave him the most lasting comfort.

To Mr. Wood he writes: "A great part of our melancholy history since we left Manchester you have already learned from the letters which I addressed to my mother. We have had many mercies, it is true, which it would be a crying sin to forget; but the loss of our dear little girl damps all our earthly joys, and will long be felt by us as a most painful bereavement. It is impossible to describe the sensations of desolation which we feel. But I hope we do not murmur, though we sorrow; and that Divine grace enables us not to faint. My dear wife was much obliged to Mrs. Wood for her friendly letter, which she purposes soon to answer. She is as well as can be expected, and unites with me in best love to you both, and in grateful acknowledgments of many kind offices received from you during our residence in Manchester, which we shall always remember, and wish we had any adequate means of requiting. But what you have done you did for the Lord's sake, and we pray that He may bless you and yours with all the mercies of the New Covenant. We have the prospect of being very comfortable in our new situation. The circuit seems to be as agreeable as most, and the people are disposed to show us much kindness. I am almost entirely at home, and need sleep out only two nights in eight weeks. I am exceedingly pleased with all my colleagues, and I hope I shall be more and more satisfied that I have a commission from God to the people of these parts."

A letter to my mother gives an insight into my father's devotional habits and domestic affairs, as well as into the state of public feeling at this period. My grandfather Maclardie had given my mother some few hundred pounds on the occasion of her marriage. "Poor ——! Her case is really deserving of commiseration. I wish she may get the power and comfort of true religion before she go hence to be no more

seen. I think you should talk freely and plainly to her on this most important of all subjects. I thought — seemed to be somewhat seriously impressed by his late accident. Is it so? If it be, you will doubtless improve the occasion. I have been more than usually led to think of him, and to pray for him, with reference to his best interests. The purchase of the house involves so many considerations, that it will be better, as I hope so shortly to be on the spot, where I can learn all particulars, to defer till then the farther discussion of the matter. To be sure, the state of public affairs is such as almost unavoidably to suggest some doubts as to the stability of the government securities. But whether change would increase security is another question; and buildings create a great deal of trouble.”

Ministers’ meetings, such as had been held in the Manchester District, were introduced by my father into Sheffield. I find notes of his preparations for one of them. “Justification and forgiveness are synonymous terms. Publican’s case. It implies favor and acceptance. ‘Accepted in the Beloved.’ Justification implies God is at peace with us. Is ‘the love of God shed abroad,’ etc., synonymous with the Spirit’s witness? Leaders; temporal concerns placed a good deal under their influence. People; visits to persons excluded; regular visitations; renewal of tickets. Entire dedication to the ministry. Opening new classes. Meeting of societies. Visiting the sick. Prayer-meetings. Beat the head of every thing.”

Griffith commenced a frequent correspondence with his absent friend, and a letter from him refers to the general subject of the last paragraph.

“Manchester, February 19th, 1808.

“We held our meeting on Monday last. Besides the preachers in Manchester, we had the brethren from Stockport, Oldham, Rochdale, Bury, and Leigh, and a Mr. Coate from America, whom you know. Mr. Thomas Taylor was not with us, owing to the want of a conveyance, the canal being frozen up. Our meeting was a good one, upon the whole. Mr. Coate preached, and was followed by Messrs. Shadford, Crosby, Hare, and Robert Miller. The next meeting is fixed for April 6th, at Rochdale: Mr. Thomas Taylor, or Mr. Marsden to preach. The subject for conversation to be the Atonement. The sub-



ject of the sermon not mentioned. Since our conversation, I have thought a good deal upon the subject of faith, and upon the confusion of our ideas respecting it. Does not this confusion arise from our too frequently confounding faith, as it is 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen,' with faith as it is required of us, in order to our receiving the forgiveness of sins, or any other Gospel blessing? That these are closely connected there can be no doubt, but are they not, at the same time, distinct? And is it not owing to want of attention to this distinction that we sometimes appear to contradict each other, and even ourselves, by asserting at one time that it is the gift of God, and at another that it is our own work? Give me your thoughts at large upon this subject when you have a little leisure. I would only add that Mr. Wesley seems to have considered it in the former sense principally in his sermon on Hebrews, xii., 6, and in his two sermons on Hebrews, xi., 1, and that Mr. Fletcher seems to consider it principally in the latter sense in his Essay on Truth. In the former of these senses, must we not consider it as the gift of God entirely? And in the latter, must we not consider it as our exercise of the gift of God, under the direction and influence of the Giver? You see I think of you in all knotty cases. I often wish for you, especially when there is any thing upon my mind respecting doctrines which I consider of importance. But these vile bodies will not suffer us to move from Manchester to Sheffield, or from Sheffield to Manchester, as rapidly as our thoughts can fly. Could Adam's body, think you, move with this rapidity?"

An extensive correspondence was maintained during the current Methodistical year between my father and other leading ministers of the connection. Two subjects are introduced in many of the letters, and evidently occupied the gravest thoughts of those who sought most solicitously the welfare of Methodism.

My father had already set his heart upon accomplishing an object which it took a quarter of a century to carry—the systematic training of approved candidates for the Methodist ministry. I have spoken of the opinions he cherished respecting that ministry as deriving its authority from Christ, the Head

of the Church, and its authentication from the Church itself. He had a deep and humbling sense of the responsibilities of the pastoral office, and, for that very reason, of the prerogatives which, of necessity, and by strict Scriptural injunction, belong to it. In this view, the prerogatives were the consequence of the responsibility, and they who denied the one made light of the other. I must again deal with this subject, and, as I hope, in a spirit which shall give no just occasion of offense. But here I have a particular purpose. Prerogative raised the question of fitness. Many intelligent ministers had, at the period to which I am now referring, come to the conclusion that claims which clashed so strongly with some popular systems of Church government, as well as with the prejudices of the irreligious multitude, must be sustained and strengthened, not only by sound argument, and by high personal character, but by the well-recognized competency of the persons who preferred them. Assuming, then, as he had a right to assume, the piety and special designation of the men who, after successive trials, had been "counted faithful," and were about to be put into the ministry, my father was deeply anxious to remove any degree of incapacity for the office. Gross and manifest ignorance, or careless indisposition to sacred studies, or the vanity which too often attends them both, was proof of moral as well as of intellectual disqualification in cases where the opportunity of improvement had been afforded. To give that opportunity, therefore, was a clear duty, if for no other reason, because it supplied a new and safe test of character. He knew, too, the mind of his contemporaries, and how many of them deplored their own deficiencies; sometimes blushing in the presence of their people; and still oftener weeping before God. Nor could he mingle freely with some of them in social and official life, or listen to their public exercises without a strong and almost indignant sense of the privation of which they had been the subjects. How many a genius might have been trained and fostered—how many an understanding taught and disciplined—if due facilities had been timely furnished! The histories of the early preachers, sometimes instanced in opposition to these views, in no degree lessened their force. The call was peculiar, and so were the preparations; I speak not only of spiritual aids, but of the diligent

and prayerful pursuit of knowledge. Wesley was an accomplished scholar, and the very ardor of his zeal made him anxious that the agents he employed should not lack any element of success. We have his own testimony as to the result of his repeated exhortations to them. In his "Letter to Dr. Rutherford,"\* in answer to an allegation that many of his preachers were so ignorant as not to know that the Scriptures were not written in their mother tongue, he writes, "Indeed they are not. Whoever gave you that information abused your credulity: most of the traveling preachers in connection with me are not ignorant men. As I observed before, they know all which they profess to know. The languages they do not profess to know; yet some of them understand them well. Philosophy they do not profess to know; yet some of them tolerably understand this also. They understand both one and the other better than great part of my pupils at the University did, and yet these were not inferior to their fellow-collegians of the same standing (which I could not but know, having daily intercourse with all the under-graduates, either as Greek lecturer or moderator), nor were these inferior to the under-graduates of other colleges."† We have also more precise test-

\* Works, vol. xiv., p. 364, 365.

† See how he retorts upon a similar antagonist on another occasion: "The ground of this offense is as follows: Some of those who now preach are unlearned. This objection might have been spared by many of those who have frequently made it, because they are unlearned too, though accounted otherwise. They have not themselves the very thing they require in others. Men in general are under a great mistake with regard to what is called the learned world. They do not know—they can not easily imagine—how little learning there is among them. I do not speak of abstruse learning, but of what all divines, at least of any note, are supposed to have, namely, the knowledge of the tongues, at least Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and of the common arts and sciences. How few men of learning, so called, understand Hebrew, even so far as to read a plain chapter of Genesis! Nay, how few understand Greek! Make an easy experiment. Desire that grave man who is urging this objection only to tell you the English of the first paragraph that occurs in one of Plato's Dialogues. I am afraid we may go farther still. How few understand Latin! Give one of them an Epistle of Tully, and see how readily he will explain it without his dictionary! If he can hobble through that, it is odds but a Georgic in Virgil or a Satire of Persius will set him fast. And with regard to the arts and sciences, how few understand so much as the general principles of logic! Can one in ten of the clergy (O grief of heart!), or of the Masters of Arts in either Univer-

imonies as to Hopper, who "regarded it a duty which he owed to himself, to God, and to the Church, to acquire some knowledge of those languages in which the Scriptures were originally written;" Cowmley, who was said to have traveled "history's enormous round," and had mastered most of the books on divinity in the English language; Olivers, an acute and practiced logician, and a poet whose strains adorn and elevate the hymnology of every nation which speaks the English tongue; Mason, well versed in the history of the world and of the Church, and in anatomy, medicine, and natural history, and whose "botanical collections would have done credit to the first museum in Europe;" Story, to whose multifarious acquisitions I have before alluded; Black, who also studied the Scriptures in the originals; Thomas Taylor, who devoted his time before breakfast wholly to his Hebrew Bible, "comparing the text with the Latin and English translations, consulting also the Septuagint, and, at other times of the day, studied the Greek Testament, the Latin authors, divinity, history, and philosophy;" and Walsh, who, "if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek word in the New Testament," "would tell, after a little pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but also what it meant in every place."

Wesley himself entertained thoughts of providing for a want which was felt very early in the history of the connection, but Adam Clarke seems to have been the first to form a distinct project. In 1806 he consulted with his brethren in the London Circuit, and a paper on the subject was prepared, which was read to the Conference of that year, and to several eminent laymen. The Conference referred it, for consideration, to the body of the preachers, assembled at their next annual District

sity, when an argument is brought, tell you even the mood and figure wherein it is proposed, or complete an enthymeme? Perhaps they do not so much as understand the term: supply the premise which is wanting, in order to make it a full categorical syllogism. Can one in ten of them demonstrate a problem or theorem in Euclid's Elements, or define the common terms used in metaphysics, or intelligibly explain the first principles of it? Why, then, will they pretend to that learning which they are conscious to themselves they have not? nay, and censure others who have it not, and do not pretend to it? Where are sincerity and candor fled?"—*Works*, vol. viii., p. 219.



meetings; but little more was heard of it. "About a grammar-school or academy," writes Alexander Suter in his private memoranda of the Conference of 1806, "Butterworth sent a letter on the subject, in which are very indifferent reflections. Bradburn said, 'It is a grand trick of the devil.'" And again, in 1808, "—— farther believes that Clarke, when he went to London, never intended to leave it; his friends labored for that. Hence the plan of education was set on foot, at the head of which he was placed." "Brother Bardsley\* told us that, when he read of the titles, etc.," given to Adam Clarke, "his heart sank within him, and that he believed Clarke would leave us: God showed it him before last Conference; for he dreamed that he saw him in a Cathedral, in a prebend's stall, and that he looked with great coolness on Brother Bardsley, etc." These specimens will show how thoroughly the horror of a "carnal ministry" prevented some of the most excellent of the preachers from sympathizing with the proposed plan, and how Clarke himself was thought capable of having been prompted in its conception by unworthy motives.

When my father's attention was first directed to the subject, he entertained a strong objection to the idea of a college or an academy, and was anxious to devise some other means of meeting the emergency. He became gradually, but firmly convinced that a collegiate institution was necessary. His opinions, however, must not be misunderstood. He never contended that it would be wise to attempt the systematic education of every man whom the grace and providence of God had called into

\* Bardsley, a man of large and fleshy frame, was, as frequently happens in such cases, a child in simplicity and sweetness. In 1818, after fifty years' service, he and his friend Francis Wrigley, a sturdy veteran who had known him from his youth up (each, in his turn, the oldest preacher in the connection), left the Conference at Leeds with the intention of traveling together some portion of the way to their respective circuits. Arriving at a country inn, they took tea, and then sat in the door-way watching the departing light. Their conversation was heard by none but themselves; but an autumn evening—the full harvest gathered in by the tired laborer, and the welcome rest at hand—must have reminded them of their own course well-nigh spent, and of the repose so needed and so near. Bardsley felt ill, and proposed to retire for the night. His friend went with him toward his bedroom. Bardsley's strength failed, and he sat down on the topmost step; then threw his arm round Wrigley's neck, saying, "My dear, I must die," and "was not, for God took him."

the Methodist ministry. There were exceptions to the general—the almost universal rule. Some plants sicken in a hot-house, however mild the temperature. Far distant be the day when the rigid enforcement of a wise and necessary system shall either exclude from the Christian ministry, or cramp and cripple, when engaged in it, any man whose original constitution of mind or body, or settled habits of thought or action, make such a training inexpedient! Humanly speaking, the preachers to the masses must still, to a large extent, spring from them. Let us not shrink from the testimony that God has always chosen many of His best instruments from the humbler classes of society; and that, while He imparts the needful gifts, it is for the Church to cherish and mature them, with a constant reference to His design in giving them, and to their various nature and adaptation for use. Culture will, in most cases, improve both the flower and the fruit; but if culture would weaken or destroy the plant, let it grow wild. Let it blossom in some distant desert, or brighten some wilderness at home, and the true lover of all God's works will revel in its beauty. And I have seen wild-flowers which showed well in terraced gardens, beneath the shade of stately palaces, and by the side of all that art could do to deck the pampered earth with delicate or gorgeous hues.

My father watched the indications of opinion and of feeling, but for a long time he met with very little to encourage his wishes. The prudent policy of waiting for general concurrence in a measure, many of the objections to which proceeded from a deep solicitude to attain the same object, at last received its reward, and an institution, such as he desired to see, was permanently established.

A second subject of anxiety about this period was the permanent location of ministers who had before been actively engaged in the itinerancy. The principle of location, in some cases, was, indeed, already established. The literary undertakings of the connection required agents with special qualifications, and, when such agents were scarce, there was no alternative but to give them a fixed position. So must it always be, as my father, a zealous advocate for the itinerancy, was in course of time convinced. The system creates its own exceptions. If the evangelist must also be the pastor, neither he nor

his people will allow his time and energies to be occupied very largely in duties in which they have no special and immediate concern, however great may be their connectional interest. Men, therefore, who undertake these general departments of labor, must be exclusively devoted to them; and if, after trial, peculiar fitness be ascertained, the advantages of original aptitude and of acquired experience must never be sacrificed to any considerations of routine, still less to any feelings of jealousy. As departments extend, the truth of these observations has become increasingly apparent. But a serious evil threatened the connection at the time of which I am writing. Adam Clarke's was not the only case in which a minister of great talents and influence showed symptoms of impatience with the weary details of itinerant life, and, without any very clearly stated excuse, on the ground of failing health or of other obvious incapacity, sought a station, if not of greater ease, yet certainly of more freedom and quiet. The steady laborers trembled at these precedents, and the mischief was peremptorily stopped. Clarke, indeed, under circumstances which were so peculiar that it is scarcely possible to anticipate their recurrence, retained a certain standing on the list of efficient ministers after he had ceased to travel, but I am mistaken if the latter pages of his life are read with as much pleasure as the earlier portion of the story. Many, who listened to him with delight on the Sabbath, ill brooked his appearance on the following morning at the Surrey Institution, more like a servant to the lecturer of the day than a Methodist preacher and a great biblical scholar. The feeling among the ministers, too, was one of sincere regret. One ancient man, who had never heard of Rymer's *Fledera*, records in his journal his horror of a Methodist preacher giving his days and nights to "Rhyme's *Phædra*." Possibly this notice of these circumstances has not any particular present interest, but it is well to know the difficulties through which our fathers passed, and the spirit in which they met them. Let no man hope to command the confidence or to sway the counsels of the Methodist connection unless, in one form or other, strictly itinerant, or strictly serving the true and only objects of the itinerancy, he share the labors, trials, privations, sympathies, and rewards of every other minister of the body.

My father writes to his friend Mr. Wood in March, 1808:

“Now that we are more accustomed to this place, and to the people and their manners, we feel comfortable, and probably should be very happy could we entirely divest ourselves of those gloomy recollections of our domestic loss, which will officiously mingle with all our enjoyments, especially while we continue to be so conversant with the scenes where that loss was first so acutely felt. The society at large we think more deeply pious than any we have before seen, and, at the same time, what I hardly expected, more free, as a whole, than most others from the extravagances and follies of enthusiasm. I feel a high degree of pastoral affection and esteem for them. ‘The best of all is, God is with us.’ We are now busy in the quarterly visitation, and have reason to believe that there is a great increase, both of numbers and of piety, in various parts of the circuit.”

My father accepted an invitation to remain in the circuit during a second year, and, in the first draft of the stations, his name appeared accordingly, with Mr. Myles for his new superintendent. Bradburn was put down elsewhere; but his eccentricities still eclipsed his virtues, and a vigorous opposition was made to the appointment. It was therefore changed for Sheffield. Then, and for the only time during his entire course, my father interfered decisively as to his own station, and, without raising any public discussion, conveyed to preachers of influence in the Conference his resolute determination not to take the cure of souls in conjunction with any minister in whose uniform and manifest consistency of character and of demeanor he was unable, for any reason, to place implicit confidence. Stockport was assigned to him; and, having easily succeeded in inducing my mother to sacrifice every consideration of personal convenience to that of his usefulness and honor, he fully expected to labor in that town. But the people at Sheffield most pathetically and effectually remonstrated, and my father returned to them, with Myles, Edward Hare, James Daniel Burton, and Edmund Grindrod as his colleagues.

I have reason to believe that my father did not take any very prominent part in the proceedings of the Conference in question. He seems to have depended for influence upon private suggestions to the principal ministers of the body. For these, their frequent consultations of his opinion furnished many opportu-



nities. The legislation of the year supplied improvements which, doubtless, he assisted to originate. Funds for the relief of embarrassed chapels (confined, however, to the several districts in which such funds might be established), and an additional school for the education of the ministers' children, were the two chief projects of the time. The latter resulted, some years afterward, in the establishment of the institution at Woodhouse Grove, near Leeds. The former was ultimately matured into the present very admirable and effective connectional plan. Between a common effort for relief and exertions limited to particular districts, there could be little difficulty in deciding, since the united strength of the body can always work with far greater power and precision than can the strength of the members separately. Times have not changed as to methods of relief, but, as to purposes of increase and of enlargement it is a question demanding serious attention whether, in the cases of the metropolis and of other densely populated places, the general fund ought not to be supplemented by societies contemplating local objects only. My father was of opinion that London, especially, and its suburbs, with their crying necessities, and with doors thrown wide open to Wesleyan agencies, had long claimed the self-sacrificing liberalities of those who are privileged to reside in it.

The limit to which this volume must be confined already warns me that any farther notices of my father's colleagues must be very brief. Yet I can not be quite silent as to Hare, Grindrod, and Burton, with whom he now for the first time became closely connected.

I have already had occasion to speak of the public services of EDWARD HARE, a man of great intellectual vigor, a sound and able preacher, a ready and practiced writer, and altogether one of the principal worthies of the denomination which claims him as its own. Placed in very early life under the tuition of Joseph Milner, of Hull, he left school for the sea, and served his apprenticeship in the Mediterranean trade. On his return from a voyage, and during a season of extraordinary religious influence he was converted to God. He began to preach on shipboard, and in foreign ports, where the vessel chanced to lie. Twice in the course of one voyage taken prisoner by the French, he landed, after his second release, on the coast of Cornwall,

and walked the journey home, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, with little other sustenance than bread and water. He abandoned a seafaring life, listened to the silent voice which called him to the ministry, and gave himself to study and to prayer. Benson was attracted by his piety and talents, and, a temporary vacancy occurring in the York Circuit, sent him to fill it. After laboring two years he was stationed in London, and there Benson, finding that the youth still retained some knowledge of the Latin and the Greek, acquired when a child, took him under his own training, and thus conferred upon him a lasting advantage. He labored with great acceptance and success for nearly twenty years. A fuller memorial of his character and course, and the touching story of his early decline and blessed end, may be read in the biography prefixed to his Pulpit Remains, enriched by his wife's judicious and tender record of his many domestic virtues.

His valuable contributions to the theology of Methodism gave large promise of what was to be expected from him had his life and literary labors been prolonged, and will well repay the perusal of modern students. "For," writes his widow, "he was of an intrepid spirit, ingenuous, and disinterested. His sermons were not only compact in themselves, but connected one with another, so that every one who, with a clear understanding and a retentive memory, attended his ministry during his station on a circuit, might discern in his preaching a well-digested and wisely-arranged body of divinity." Might not his example, in this respect, be more generally followed, and to great advantage? Perhaps it is not very often that Wesleyan co-pastors can, like Edmondson and Treflry at Rochester, arrange for united courses of systematic teaching; but less of ignorance, and of indifference to theological science, and to the benefits which it secures, would exist in our congregations, if individual ministers could be induced to declare "the whole counsel of God," not desultorily and as by chance, but on some regular and comprehensive plan. If a common scheme of preaching could be adopted, one of the great arguments in favor of the Methodist system might be materially strengthened; for why should not the completeness and solidity supposed to attach to a permanent ministry be secured, without sacrificing the constant freshness and healthy excitement attending a frequent change of ministers?

My father and Mr. Hare were closely attached to each other, and became constant correspondents; and the deep sympathy and kindness felt by the survivor were strongly manifested to his friend as he drew near the close of life, and, after his death, to his widow and children. In him Methodism lost its ablest controversialist; but it was found that, when his hand no longer plied the pen, fewer occasions arose for its employment. So far as my father's influence extended, literary discussions with "them that are without" were, as much as possible, avoided; and, during seasons of internal dissension, a thousand swords leaped from their scabbards to defend the constitution against all assailants.

JAMES DANIEL BURTON, of the family of that name to which I have before alluded,\* was awakened as, on his return from a surreptitious visit to the theatre, he met the bearers of a corpse exposed to public view. His position in life and the delicacy of his training did not prevent his hearty consecration of himself to the Methodist itinerancy. He was an animated, pleasing, and impressive preacher, and a prudent and conscientious shepherd of the flock, gladly availing himself, in the latter capacity, of the means of liberality placed at his disposal. After laboring diligently for ten years his strength was spent, and in about two years more he finished his course. I think of Samuel Pearce, of Birmingham, when I read the account of his regrets and hopes as he felt that his work on earth was done, and waited for the day when the rest of death should also end, and the ceaseless service of a new and perfect life begin. "I now consider death," he writes, "as a friendly messenger, that tells me I must go to my future home; as the herald that proclaims my release from this prison-house of clay; as the instrument that breaks the shell of mortality, and lets out my soul to take her wing through the ethereal heavens, till she reaches the celestial mansion prepared for her, and mingles with saints and angels. I desire to depart and to be with Christ; with Him I love above all creatures; with Him who loved me beyond all parallel, all claim, all praise; who hath redeemed me by His blood, canceled all my sins, renewed me in the spirit of my mind, sustained me with the bread of life, and saved me from a thousand snares. Oh, how I could enlarge upon His bounty!

Yet I should fail to tell the measure of His love. All I could say would be but as an atom to the globe, a point in the compass, a ray of light in the full blaze of day. Oh, my beloved wife, my bosom friend, the desire of my eyes, and the choice of my heart!—oh, my children, tender in age, and passing through a world of sin, and trouble, and difficulty, must I leave you? Must I see you no more till you, like me, have passed the stream of Jordan? Yes, most probably I must soon be parted from you. But, Margaret, do I not leave you among friends who will use every means to comfort you? Do I not leave you and our little ones under the especial care and protection of heaven? Many happy years I hoped to spend with you on earth; many plans of future usefulness I hoped to execute. I was laboring hard to prepare a work which, while profitable to myself, I thought would be beneficial to others; but by death the purposes of my heart are broken off. I do not on this account complain, because God can inspire others with the same views and purposes better qualified to accomplish them, if necessary; and if not necessary, it is better they continue unaccomplished.”

The particulars of EDMUND GRINDROP'S life and services have been recorded by Dr. Hannah,\* and are fresh in the recollection of modern Methodists. He was one of those men whose merit is but slowly recognized, and never so clearly as when readier talents are of little use. The massiveness of his good sense gave a certain picturesque air to an intellect not otherwise furnishing any remarkable object of study, while the strength and steadiness of his character never failed to justify the confidence of his friends, and to command the respect of his opponents. Not one of my father's contemporaries was more thoroughly imbued with his principles and feelings, or in seasons of anxiety and conflict rendered him more zealous and effective aid. So thoroughly were their relations understood, that some, who durst not encounter the one, were not unwilling to taunt the other with servility of spirit, and with copying, more closely than was consistent with individual sympathies and opinions, those of the master-mind to which he owed his training. My father knew the value of his friend, and, as in other cases, never permitted either folly or faction to de-

\* Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1846.



prive him of a hearty and well-trusted fellow-laborer in the one work of his life. Grindrod's worth, when he was gone, was tried by the best of all tests—the generally admitted want, in seasons of embarrassment and of peril, of his judicious counsels, calm temperament, accurate information, and unbounded love of Methodism. His "Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Wesleyan Methodism" is by far the best guide yet published to the administration of the system, and the repository of the most correct and best classified information for the use of general inquirers.

The correspondence of the year 1808–1809 was very voluminous, suggesting some topics which my limits again warn me to avoid. Many subjects occupied the attention of the ministers of the connection. It is very evident that a spirit of restlessness, if not of dissatisfaction and distrust, was somewhat extensively prevalent among them. I confine myself to those subjects which are connected with my father's individual history and opinions.

Joseph Nightingale, author of the "Portraiture of Methodism," gave no little trouble at this time. His book excited considerable attention. Gurney, afterward Baron of the Exchequer, confidentially told some leading Methodists that its effect upon the men with whom he mixed at the bar and in general society was exceedingly disparaging to the character of the connection. Opponents highly lauded it; and it was felt that the blow had been aimed with much dexterity. The "New Annual Register," on the other hand, reviewed the book with great severity, introducing some allusions to the writer's personal history, which, however true, were by no means flattering. Nightingale commenced legal proceedings, and recovered damages; he then threatened the publishers of the "Eclectic Review," in which Dr. Mason Good had written a condemnatory article, and of the "Methodist Magazine," which, of course, had concurred in the censure. Benson was seriously frightened; not so much so, however, as Samuel Taylor, a minister of great excellence and simplicity, to whom some of the statements were not indistinctly traced. Parken, the editor of the "Eclectic," corresponded with my father, and the latter took a journey to Macclesfield for the purpose of obtaining evidence of facts which he knew had been correctly stated,

and which were required for the purposes of the defense. Ultimately the affair was quieted without farther exposure of Nightingale, or annoyance to Parken, Benson, or Taylor.

One night, about fifteen years afterward, my father was hastily summoned from his editorial desk in London to go and see a dying man. It was none other than Nightingale, who had been successively a Unitarian, a Methodist, a seceder from Methodism to a little sect in Macclesfield, now forgotten, who called themselves Revivalists, a Quaker, and again a Unitarian, but who now, when death and judgment loomed darkly before him, trembled on account of sin, and sought eagerly the mercy of the Gospel. Even in his vile caricature of Methodism he had thrown away some compliments upon my father's talents and character, and into his hands he had given his ticket when he abandoned, not without some gentle compulsion, the Methodist Society. Now he sought services which were gladly rendered, and successive visits stirred, almost painfully, the yearnings of my father's pastoral heart. This sheaf also he will bring with him. Nightingale's last testimony need not be discredited: "Others may, for aught I know, have found refuge in what is called 'Rational Christianity.' To their own master they stand or fall; I quarrel with no one; my time is too short, my bodily strength too weak, to enter into the intricacies of religious dispute. I embrace, therefore, a moment's remaining strength to beg of you, for myself, to protest, before the religious public, against all doctrines of faith in which the great, and leading, and incontrovertible doctrine of Divine Influence, as generally taught by evangelical Christians, does not form an essential point. If a knowledge of salvation by the forgiveness of sins can be obtained; if a man can be able to say that he feels the love of God shed abroad in his heart—that Christ dwelleth in him, the hope of glory—that his sins are pardoned, and that he can call God his reconciled Father; if he can have the spirit of adoption so as to cry 'Abba, Father;' if he can know that he is passed from death unto life, being born again of the Spirit—if all this can take place without a cordial reception of the doctrines of the Trinity, the Atonement, and those other great doctrines usually connected therewith, then I would gladly say to such a one, This is the way, walk thou in it. But I am compelled, so far as I feel my own soul concerned, with

all the seriousness and earnestness of a dying man, to attest that *I have made the experiment, and it has failed.*"

An extract from a letter of Robert Newton is interesting, as showing the character of the writer, and as giving some account of his first attempt, when a minister of nine years' standing, to superintend a circuit. It is dated

"Huddersfield, September 30th, 1808.

"Yesterday morning I received your very welcome epistle, and am obliged by the invitation which it contains. To Mr. Clayton and myself the temptation will, I believe, be irresistible, especially as it happens that we can spare a night or two at that time better than for several weeks to come. Mrs. Newton, I hope, will accompany us; but poor Bess"—(his eldest child)—"must stay at home, as it would be troublesome to take her so far when our stay must be so short. We are all gratified to hear of your prosperity; but Clayton desires me to say you must not think to compare yourselves with us. We do not plod in the lower regions among smoke and dirt: we move in the higher walks of life, and live next-door neighbors to the skies. From these pure regions, however, we look down with sympathy on those who are doomed to dwell in the smoke of Sheffield! The truth is, we are all very happy in our new situation. The people here know how to appreciate the excellences of Mr. Clayton: he is not only acceptable, but popular. We are expecting to see good days; the country is full of inhabitants, and our congregations are very large. You will be surprised when I inform you that Methodist discipline is totally unknown in this circuit. The leaders in this town have never been met, except once or twice, during the last three or four years: the society has not been met at all! We have a band meeting every Saturday evening, but any body is allowed to be present, as there is no one to stand at the door; nor are there any private bands in the town. We are determined to attempt to bring things under Methodistical regulations; I hope we shall not fail in the attempt. Yesterday we held our Quarterly meeting. I found myself under the necessity of enforcing discipline, and proposed to the leaders the application of our rule respecting the penny per week. A leader and local preacher rose when I had done, and said he would forfeit his

head if that rule were ever acted upon in that circuit. We had a great deal of speechification on the subject; at last the leaders almost unanimously agreed to do their best. We have had some conversions, and have added about sixty to the society since we came into the circuit.

“Yours in Christ Jesus,

ROBERT NEWTON.

“Mr. Clayton begs I will present his most superlative love.”

A letter to a brother minister introduces a topic which during this year occasioned much uneasiness to the Methodist ministers at Sheffield. Before their appointment to the circuit, it had been the practice to teach the art of writing in Sunday-schools, to which the Methodist name was attached, and which were chiefly supported by Methodist liberality; and, when objection was taken, grave questions arose between the active managers of these schools and the authorities of the circuit as to the nature and extent of the control which the latter might rightfully claim over the former. This was the second great struggle of my father's public life. The practice was very prevalent in the north of England, and its impropriety was not yet clearly seen, even by many excellent ministers. My father writes as follows: “Mr. Hey's arguments against teaching writing on the Lord's day are too bulky to be inclosed in a letter. If an opportunity occur of transmitting them by a friend by whom they can be safely and speedily restored to me, I will gladly send them. I do think that even your apology for that practice (the best apology for it I have seen or heard) is very insufficient. My conviction of the evil resulting from it, on the whole, is so strong, that if I thought my feeble voice had any chance of being heard with effect, I would conscientiously publish to the connection my objections, and my protest against it. But when so many wise and good men approve of the custom, and others who condemn it keep their disapprobation to themselves (though their influence, if exerted, could not fail to procure attention to their reasonings), I feel unwilling to do or say any thing except in my own private and local sphere of action. Excuse this frank avowal of my difference in opinion. If, by Lancaster's plan, children can be taught to write while learning to read the Scriptures, and if that plan be feasible in Sunday-schools, my scruples would



be greatly relieved. But I think that reading, and that only with a view to religious purposes, should be the object exclusively aimed at by the teachers and learners, otherwise the sanctity of the day is violated, and a due reverence for it, as Divinely appropriated to religious uses, is gradually sapped and undermined."

Among my father's papers is found an "Outline of the Argument against teaching the Art of Writing on the Lord's day," which sufficiently explains the process by which he arrived at his own conclusions on the subject.\*

"I. The appointment of the Sabbath is not ceremonial, but of moral obligation. From the beginning, long before the Jewish dispensation commenced, God, as Creator, sanctified, as well as blessed, the seventh day. The fourth commandment refers to it, not as a new institution, but as one

\* As was usual with him on such occasions, he first formed, and then fortified his own judgment by an extensive and a minute examination of the authorities on the subject. His extracts from the writings of many eminent men are in existence. The general question of Sabbath-observance has assumed vast consequences in our own time; and, while it has elicited many unanswerable defenses of the opinions and practices of godly professors in all ages of the Church, on no subject have the writers in reply adopted a train of reasoning more shallow and disingenuous. It is really amusing to note how the authority of half a dozen great names is quoted, not always very honestly, and how little names, never heard of but when they serve this purpose, are dressed up for the occasion. I quote one extract by my father from the "Weekly Instructor" of October, 1811, with his preface to it. "In answer to the questions, Why so strict under the New Testament Dispensation? and, What harm is there in some little deviations from this strictness by reading, writing, visiting, traveling, etc.? 'That the religious observance of the Lord's day, if it is to be retained at all, must be upheld by some public and visible distinctions. Draw the line of distinction where you will, many actions, which are situate on the confines of the line, will differ very little, and yet lie on the opposite side of it. Every trespass upon that reserve which public decency has established breaks down the fence by which the day is separated to the service of religion. These liberties, however intended, will certainly be considered by those who observe them not only as disrespectful to the day and institution, but as proceeding from a secret contempt of the Christian faith. Consequently, they diminish a reverence for religion in others, so far as the authority of our own opinion or the influence of our example extends, or, rather (says Dr. Paley), so far as either will serve for an excuse of negligence to them who are glad of any neighbor's sentiment and conduct to justify and uphold them in their wickedness.'"

already established: '*Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.*'

"II. This original appointment of the Creator, confirmed by the Decalogue, is binding on all to whom it is made known.

"III. To 'sanctify' and 'keep holy' the Sabbath day are phrases which can not mean less than the separation of it from all secular uses whatever, and the dedication of it, whole and entire, to religious services; to such uses as directly tend to promote spiritual interests, the salvation of our own or others' souls, and the preparation of ourselves or others for eternity. Those who deny that the phrases in question imply this may be fairly challenged to state what they do mean.

"IV. Writing is, in all its direct and immediate uses, a secular art. The religious use of it is at best remote, contingent, and indirect. The design of children in learning it, and of masters in teaching it, is chiefly, if they will confess the truth, the temporal advantage of it.

"V. Therefore it ought to be taught in the six days allotted to us for secular purposes; not on the seventh, reserved for spiritual exercises.

"VI. The case of reading is very different from that of writing. It is in order to qualify children for performing an express and indispensable duty, that of searching the Scriptures, that they are taught to read. This is a spiritual good, an appointed mean of grace and salvation.

"VII. Those passages in the New Testament which explain the fourth commandment are awfully abused when brought to prove the virtual repeal of it. Those passages do vindicate works of mercy, though not directly religious, when they are works of great and immediate necessity; such as the recovery of human beings from sickness, or the preservation even of animal life from dangers which, if not instantly counteracted, would occasion its total extinction. But the art of writing is not necessary, in any such degree, either to health or life. The necessity of teaching it on Sundays has been rather asserted than proved. All who really wish to learn it might find one or two hours a week—if not in the winter, yet in the summer months—if on no other evening, yet on Saturday evenings—for that purpose, and thus no part of the Lord's day need be alienated from those employments directly religious,

which are sufficiently numerous and important to engross the whole of that sacred day."

On the second question involved in the controversy my father's opinions were equally decisive. The dispute ran not as to this or to that particular polity. It raised much wider issues. In justice, and with a due regard to the general welfare and to the will of Christ, Are institutions which avowedly aim at the very same objects for which the Church itself was Divinely established; which, to a large extent, absorb its best labor and richest liberality; and for the character and results of which it must always sustain the primary responsibility, to be subsidiary and friendly to it, or separate, independent, and hostile? Within our own borders, this question is, as to its theory, settled; and if, in any cases, it has not also received a practical solution in conformity with that theory, experience has already shown, and will yet increasingly develop, the mischiefs which attend so glaring an anomaly.

In the case of this contest, as in that of many others, my father bore the brunt of the battle, and, by his steady adherence to principle, his study and mastery of details, his vigorous and eloquent advocacy, his cautious dealing with opponents and with lukewarm friends, his willingness to endure personal obloquy and insult, and his utter fearlessness of consequences, gradually placed himself at the head of majorities, and ultimately won the fight. In this instance the victory was not final. The opponents abandoned the schools as to which the question was first raised, enlisted in their favor the editorial advocacy of James Montgomery in the "Sheffield Iris," and commenced new undertakings. But we shall see that, when my father left the circuit, the contest was renewed, and that a general who did not choose to fight, if he himself must take the chances of warfare, surrendered without a blow. It is still reserved for some such self-denying minister as my father was, by sound argument, earnest entreaty, and commanding Christian influence, to remove the last traces of the objectionable practice.

From a letter written by Mr. Griffith to my father, I find that these discussions did not divert his mind from his proper study of Christian theology. "The little time I have had since the receipt of yours," says his correspondent, "and the manner

in which my time is taken up here, prevent my giving you any satisfactory answer to your question respecting the justification of infants. I would just say, generally, that it appears to me that, where the Scriptures stop, our inquiries should stop also, lest we be of those who pry into the 'secret things' of 'the Lord our God.' From these Scriptures I learn the doctrine of original sin; and I find the doctrine agreeable to matter of fact when I look at the sufferings, etc., of infants. From these Scriptures I also learn that infants—dying in infancy—are safe, and, therefore, have been justified, in the sense in which justification is necessary to everlasting life. This is all that I know. A multitude of puzzling questions may be asked on the subject, to all of which I can give no answer, because the Scriptures have given me no information. Alas! I have no time here for MS. sermons. I feel it difficult to furnish the daily bread for the day. Whenever I finish the sermon, which, like several others, lies unfinished by me, you shall have it, as I know no man to whom I would expose my ignorance so readily as to you. We are busy about chapels. Snowfields\* is going on. We have sent in proposals for the French Church in Spital-fields, and think we shall have it."

A journey to the north of England, during the autumn of the year 1809, undertaken at Benson's almost imperative request, chiefly for the purpose of opening a Chapel at Durham, introduced my father to the Methodists of that neighborhood, with many of whom he formed lasting friendships. With the elder Mr. Longridge, in particular, he corresponded for several years, chiefly in reference to the one topic which absorbed that gentleman's pious care—the Christian training of Methodist families. During this visit he preached also at Sunderland, North Shields, South Shields, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. On his return, the late Joseph Agar, whose memory will never be forgotten by the Wesleyans of York, detained him in that city, and compelled him to give them a sermon. Mr. Agar was one of the many old Methodists who, about this period of my father's life, by the trustfulness they showed in his character, talents, and fidelity to the cause they had loved so long, gave him some confidence in his special competency and calling, and encouraged him to play manfully his part in life.

\* The Chapel in Long Lane, Southwark.



Although more than ten years had elapsed since the Sacramental controversy was settled in England, it appears that it still raged elsewhere. "Fifteen years since," writes Mr. Reece, "the Conference granted the Sacrament to the Channel Islands. It has been administered in Guernsey ever since that time; but Dr. Coke, having made a promise to the late dean that it should not be administered in Jersey, has opposed it whenever the people have repeated their request. An independent Church has lately been formed there, and the ordinance is administered to it, which has much alarmed the French preachers. They fear that, if they do not stand on equal ground, our cause will be ruined. Should not the doctor's opposition be overruled, and the general decision of the Conference be acted upon in this particular case?" My father's reply to this question was immediate. "Dr. Coke's unwarrantable promise to the Dean of Jersey ought not, in my judgment, to deprive our societies in that island any longer of their Christian and Methodist privileges. I hope you will come forward, if necessary, at the next Conference as their advocate. There is no doubt that the decision of our brethren will be in their favor." It is worth while to mark how the refusal to treat Methodists as separatists from the Church of England invariably operates for the benefit of Congregationalism; the assumption of authority by one eminent minister; and the mode in which two young ministers combined to assert the authority of the connection.

The published Minutes of the Conference for 1808 do not contain any notice of an important resolution,\* which directed

\* If some private memoranda, taken at divers Conferences during the earlier part of this century, had come sooner into my possession, I should have made more copious use of exceedingly curious records. It is impossible to resist the temptation to insert one, dated 1802. During the session of that year, Father Joseph Bradford denounced certain novelties in the dress of the preachers' wives and children—"double, triple rows of buttons," etc.; whereupon the spirit of one husband present was stirred within him. "(When these things were thus talked of," writes Mr. Suter, in a series of panting parentheses, "I thought, if my Mary was but here, she would surely be again and more personally looked to, and truly spoken of, as a just and proper model for all the preachers' wives in the connection, both as to her attention to her family and decency of dress, her attention to public means, and her punctuality in attending. I farther thought that then was it seen that her plain black bonnet, instead of being a cause of shame, would be an ornament of honor and renown. Oh, my dear M., I thought, if you had

James Wood, the president for the year, and his colleagues, Reece and Lomas, to prepare a Digest of the Rules of the Body. Mr. Reece writes to my father, "The Digest goes on very slowly, owing to the many other things which Mr. Wood has to do. Brother Lomas and I have performed the part allotted to us long since, and the whole will be laid before the Book Committee. The work is divided into chapters, and each chapter into sections. I give you a specimen: 'Chap. II. On Places of Worship and Official Characters. Section 1. Chapels; 2. Preachers, etc.' When first we distributed the work, it was agreed that each section should be introduced by a short address, illustrative of the reasons and circumstances out of which that part of our economy arose, together with the design and tendency of it. This, it was thought, would render the work more generally acceptable and useful, as many of our people, and some of our preachers, know very little of these things. Mr. Wood is now drawing up a long preface, which he thinks will supersede the necessity of these short addresses. This I doubt, as Mr. Wood's preface will not contain that minute and circumstantial information which the others do. I doubt if the same person will ever read the preface more than once, whereas the others will be frequently read when the rules are consulted, and thus the end will be answered. I should be glad of your opinion on the two plans, and the sooner the better."

Mr. Lomas addresses my father on the same subject: "I write now to request that you will give my love to Mr. Myles, and ask him whether, in his researches among the records of Methodism, he found any thing in print concerning the origin of quarterly meetings; and, if he did, where it may be met with. I will thank you to communicate his answer as soon as convenient. We have made some progress in the work committed to us by the last Conference, and hope to have it ready in time; but, when we have done all that we have authority to do, the

heard the best of men and most respectable of characters talking as they did, and the hearty approbation of the whole body present (149 preachers; Mr. Myles told me so to-day), a few excepted (Mr. A. sat before me, but *his* wife, etc.), you would never repent of being, as you long have been, singularly plain as well as singularly good. Oh, I thought, may I and mine stand as clear every way in that day when the Judge comes as I feel myself and feel for mine in this instance! O Heaven help!")

work will need much improvement to make it what it should be, a complete system of law for the government of the body. And how shall this be accomplished? Will it be done in public Conference, or by a committee during the time of Conference? Each of these is unlikely; and I fear that, after all, the work will not be such as I could wish."

To Mr. Reece my father replies: "I am much gratified by the specimen of the Digest which your letter contains. I hope what has long been a *desideratum* in Methodism will now be supplied. I think, and so do all the brethren here, that the introductory remarks to each section should by all means be preserved, and that no general preface, however excellent, can supersede their utility. In many instances, the rules themselves can not, by strangers, be well understood without some such preliminary instruction. You have, if I mistake not, the precedent of the American Methodists on your side, who, in their Digest, published by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury, have adopted the same plan, or one nearly equivalent. Perhaps some assistance might be derived by you and your coadjutors from consulting what the Quakers call their 'Book of Extracts.' It is a small volume, the second edition of which was published in 1802, and contains an arranged body of extracts from the Minutes of their Yearly Meetings, composing together their present system of Discipline. Almost any respectable Quaker in Bristol would lend it you. Perhaps the plan which they adopted for the examination and authoritative introduction of this Digest of their rules, when it had been drawn up by their committee, might not be improper in our case. You will find it described in the Preface."

When long experience had taught my father the difficulties of codification, he was much inclined to doubt whether it was not better to rest satisfied with a Compendium such as Grindrod's, commanding general respect from the character of its author, and capable of easy verification or correction by reference to authentic documents, than to attempt any official Digest. Any systematic arrangement of our laws would reveal redundancy as to some points, and a theoretical defectiveness as to others, and thus a logical necessity would be created for measures both of repeal and of enactment, which would probably occasion discussion and difficulty exactly in proportion to

their real worthlessness. That strangers can not easily understand our rules—the motive suggested fifty years ago by my father—scarcely counterbalances this consideration. In putting out our new shop-front, we may damage the foundation of the building. One sometimes wonders what would be the result if, during twenty years together, the Methodist people were patiently to follow John Wesley's advice, and simply to keep our rules instead of trying to mend them. Codification, it should be remembered, would create a necessity for amendment, even were we all thus doing our duty.

The spring of 1809 brought with it a deluge of invitations to my father from all parts of the kingdom in reference to his next appointment. The circuit stewards of those days were not perfunctory officials, and they asked, entreated, and implored, invited, persuaded, and enticed him on all hands to commit himself to some pledge on the subject. But he would not make any engagement. Expressing a preference for Liverpool, he assured all applicants that he would cheerfully labor in any Circuit to which the Conference might send him. I conjecture that, in his anxiety to educate himself in the entire system of Methodism, he felt considerable indifference as to the precise place of his apprenticeship if only it provided him with a new field of observation and of usefulness. Two exceptions must be made to this statement. The distance of Bristol from his mother's residence induced him to decline, so far as he had any voice in the matter, an invitation from that circuit. The case of Bradford, it will be seen, rested upon an entirely different ground.

A letter to Mr. Marsden alludes to a subject which occasioned my father a great deal of annoyance and labor. "We have had a long and troublesome contest with our parish officers, who wished to fix a parish apprentice with each of the three married preachers, and intimated their purpose to renew the imposition at every succeeding change of preachers. As the fine for each refusal is £10, this would have been, in fact, a biennial tax of £30 on itinerancy as practiced among us. After various consultations of counsel, memorials to magistrates, etc., etc., we have at length, through a good Providence, arrived at a satisfactory result. Much to the mortification of the overseers and their lawyer, the bench unanimously decided that



the preachers' houses should be liable only in their turn with other houses; and that, to secure this point, the stewards, and not the preachers, should be rated, pay all assessments, and be responsible for the apprentices. The officers, encouraged by the case at York, have also assessed all our chapels very heavily. But, disheartened perhaps by the failure of the former plan respecting apprentices, they have not, as yet, troubled us with any actual demand for the chapels."

But by far the most interesting question of the year related to the operation of the provisions of Wesley's Deed-poll. By the terms of that instrument the Conference consisted of one hundred ministers only; but all the ministers permitted by the District meetings to attend the Conference discharged its functions, except only in reference to the election of the president and of the secretary. Then arose the question as to the right of attendance, which was regulated by successive acts of legislation. When the number entitled to attend increased to something like two hundred, the elder ministers took alarm; they feared that their influence and strictly legal rights would be destroyed by the power of adverse majorities. On the other hand, a strong jealousy was felt by the younger ministers of any restriction of accustomed privileges. The subject was discussed at the Conference of 1808, and was ordered to be reported upon by the next ensuing District meetings. Entwisle, Griffith, Gaulter, the elder Jonathan Crowther, and Marsden, were some of those who corresponded with my father on the subject, and, though the tone of their communications was very moderate, it is easy to see that no little danger of angry excitement existed. A letter written by my father gives some account of the proceedings of the District meeting held at Sheffield. I have reason to believe that the minutes were drawn up by himself, or at his instance, and were in accordance with his individual opinions. I subjoin extracts. Those who have alleged that my father was unfriendly to the rights of his brethren and to free discussion within the walls of Conference will find they have been mistaken: "We wish an annual report of the fund to be sent to every member. We propose that every preacher at Conference found guilty of grossly neglecting to attend to the business which is transacted, or of absenting himself without leave, shall be prevented from attending for

four subsequent years, unless sent for. We disapprove of the London plan for raising a district fund for chapels as impracticable and unproductive. We propose that preachers received even on trial shall have read and approved our doctrinal Minutes, and censure the precipitancy with which some, not duly recommended, are taken out at the close of Conference. Instead of these hasty measures, we recommend greater attention to the duty of 'praying the Lord of the harvest.' We advise an inquiry into some reported gross violations of the rules respecting singing and music in our chapels. We do not think it right that the young men, when publicly received into full connection, should occupy so large a share of the time in the relation of experience, but propose that a regular charge shall be addressed to them, and the senior brethren unite in solemn prayer. We thank Mr. Benson for inserting in the Magazine the article from Macknight against female preaching; we wish Mr. Wesley's opinion on the same side, in his Works, vol. xix., p. 261, to be republished by authority of the Conference; we express our opinion that the practice is unscriptural, disgraceful to our connection, and eventually more mischievous than useful, and that it ought to be discountenanced. We inquire also whether our Welsh brethren do not sometimes employ a woman to open their new chapels, and censure those preachers who, instead of doing their ministerial work in person, are in the habit of resigning their pulpits to their wives. We propose a minute to the following effect: 'The Conference earnestly recommend to the committees, superintendents, and teachers of all Methodist Sunday-schools, to adopt the plan on which these excellent institutions were first established, and which has been successfully tried at Manchester, London, Bradford, Sheffield, etc., etc.; by teaching writing and arithmetic on week-day evenings only, so that the Lord's day may be spent in a regular attendance on worship, in reading or learning to read the Scriptures, and in such instruction and exercises as are directly and evidently of a religious nature. In all new schools hereafter established among us, let this plan be uniformly followed.' In answer to Q. 20 of last Minutes, that relating to attendance at Conference, we observe that, if our work continue to increase rapidly, some change of system will in a few years be unavoidable, and that then, perhaps, it would

be best to have provincial Conferences, by uniting several of our present Districts; a general Conference for legislation, etc., being held once in two or three years only. At present, we think no material departure from the existing system is advisable: 1. Because the inconveniences alleged are not yet so urgent as to render a change indispensable; and we think mere experiments in legislation, uncalled for by pressing necessity, are dangerous. 2. Because the advantages of frequent and numerous Conferences counterbalance the inconveniences, by promoting brotherly love, by producing a union of opinion and of effort, and by furnishing the junior brethren with their best opportunities of studying the peculiar doctrines, discipline, and genius of Methodism, with all which it is of importance that they should be accurately acquainted at the earliest possible period of their itinerancy, before anti-Methodistical views and habits have been contracted. 3. Because the remedies proposed for the alleged inconveniences last Conference (*viz.*, the restricting the number of attendants and votes by a new principle of exclusion, applying to one particular class of preachers) would occasion worse evils than that which it professes to cure; would sanction a principle by which any other spiritual usurpation or anti-Christian hierarchy might afterward be introduced and defended; would imply an unscriptural and intolerable attack on the ministerial character and equal rights of the juniors in full connection, and would therefore be displeasing to God, and dangerous alike to the peace and stability of our connection."

Before my father retired from public life, the numbers attending the Conference were twice as many as at the time these minutes were written. But I believe that the only modification which he would have suggested at the later period would have been to omit that portion of them which contemplated provincial Conferences. He became fully convinced that these would be attended with serious disadvantages and with grave perils. It is clear that, as ministers increase, and opportunities of personal converse and friendship become less frequent, a very strong case must be made out to justify any change of the present system; and, to say nothing of the legal and other difficulties which would attend the alteration, it would seem that no evils at present exist which may not be easily remedied without resorting to it.

About this period of my father's history, it was the not uncommon practice of District meetings to discuss the condition and requirements of the connection at large, and to embody their opinions in minutes forwarded to the Conference. I see no occasion for regret that this custom does not now generally prevail. It is easy to see that projects of change affecting the entire body will be freer both from personal and from local bias, and will, therefore, be more likely to result in measures of sound general policy, when originated for discussion at the Conference itself, or in committees intrusted with the several departments of administration.

At the Conference of 1809, of which Thomas Taylor was president, the question of attendance at the Conference was left substantially in the position which the minutes of the Sheffield District meeting had recommended. Other measures of the same session, relating chiefly to finance, had their origin in my father's attention to that department of connective affairs. There are also traces of the results of my father's correspondence with Mr. Longridge on the subject of family religion. I find, too, that the practice of giving a charge to the young ministers received into full connection was established at this Conference. A speech delivered by my father during the earlier part of the proceedings secured for him the life-long gratitude and affection of the late Rev. David M'Nicoll. He and one of his colleagues had, during the preceding year, "of malice aforethought," and without the sanction of their superintendent, established a society for the mental improvement of the younger members of one of their congregations. Grave charges were preferred at the District meeting, and were transmitted to the Conference. I can not believe that my father was induced to palliate any very serious case of insubordination. If he did, I must plead as his apology the charm of his first acquaintance with one of the most amiable and accomplished men who ever encountered the toils of the Methodist itinerancy.

One event only of any great domestic interest took place in the second year of my father's residence at Sheffield. In December, 1808, his second daughter was born. Mr. Myles baptized her by the name of her grandmother, Mary Redfern.

I have been favored with a communication from Mrs. New-



ton which relates partly to this period. Though it refers to other periods also, earlier and later, and makes mention almost as frequently of my mother as of my father, I can not persuade myself to break the continuity of the narrative. The Methodist community need not be reminded that Robert Newton's widow still survives; but the record which, in her eightieth year, she has written on this occasion, will excite a yet livelier interest in her welfare, and will elicit many a hearty prayer to Almighty God for the increasing comfort and honor of her last days.

"The third year after our marriage," writes Mrs. Newton, "I returned from Glasgow by way of London. My dear husband was about to attend the Conference there. I hoped that the introduction of him to my friends in the metropolis would remove the prejudice they had formed against Methodism, and would restore me again to their favor. My wishes were fulfilled. My friends said we were born for each other. It was during my visit there that, after taking a walk one day with Mrs. —, we turned into one of the vestries connected with City Road Chapel. The Conference was then sitting; and my companion was informed that her husband was about to be stationed, not, as she expected, in some part of London, but elsewhere. Poor Mrs. — felt this exceedingly, and became very warm on the subject. An interesting young lady standing by, after a few ineffectual attempts to console her said, 'Well, if my husband were ordered to some other station by the Conference, I should think it right to acquiesce without murmuring.' 'You!' said poor Mrs. —: 'it becomes you to say so resignedly, when you well know there is such a strife to obtain and retain him.' I liked the sentiment of the young lady, and inquired who she was; and was answered, 'The recently-married wife of Jabez Bunting.' This was the first time I heard your father's name with any interest; and it was not till we had been two years in Rotherham and one in Sheffield that we became personally acquainted. Mr. Bunting succeeded Mr. Haslam in Sheffield: Mrs. Haslam was ill, and could not at once remove with him to his new circuit; and the late Mr. Holy and his kind lady requested your father and mother to be their guests. Soon after their arrival I made my first call, and with more interest than I usually felt on such occasions. Shall I tell you of our first introduction—so perfectly charac-

teristic of your dear mother? Mr. Bunting had his foot on a chair, and she was stitching a loop that had failed in his black silk stocking, on his then remarkably finely-formed leg—much admired in those days, when trowsers were worn only by seamen. The footman announced my name, and Mrs. B. desisted from her work for a few moments, and we shook hands. Then, with one of the looks peculiar to her, half droll, half serious, she said to me, ‘Do you mend your husband’s stockings?’ Of course, I answered in the affirmative. ‘Oh, well, then,’ she said, ‘I will finish my job,’ and in a few minutes Mr. Bunting and she were conversing with me rather as old friends than as those so newly introduced to my acquaintance. On parting, I said I hoped we should meet often; and your mother replied, ‘I have no objection to be very thick with you.’ Such was our first meeting. They removed as soon as possible to their house in Carver Street, in which street we also resided. The youngest child was taken ill, and in a few days after your father came in a distressed state of mind, and requested me to go to Mrs. Bunting, for he feared the poor child was dying. I joined them immediately, and found your mother with the babe on her knee, evidently in the latest struggle. I thought of my own one child, and had no difficulty in joining my tears with theirs. A few hours, and their first girl was gone; and, until after her funeral, I spent the morning and afternoon with the sorrowing parents, and at dusk they returned with me to tea, and we parted only when it was time to retire for the night. Thus passed the first week of their bereavement. Your father’s first effort after the child’s death was to obtain its likeness before it was removed from his sight. I sat by the artist much of the time while he attempted the sketch, and unclosed its little eyes to show their lovely blue. Thus was sealed an intimacy that caused us much pleasure in our early life, and that continued to the end. The society in Sheffield was very, very hospitable, and invitations for dinner, tea, and supper were so general, that we agreed to decline all visits on the Sabbath, and engaged to spend the evenings of that day alternately at each other’s houses. This arrangement continued, and, I think, without any interruption, during the year we spent together in Sheffield. Our dear husbands enjoyed the relaxation of cheerful converse and of mutual Christian feeling, some-

times mixed with the little marvels of our children's prowess during the week, and the social meal after their Sabbath toils, for they had usually had long walks or rides, preached three times, and attended to their other duties as Methodist ministers. Our frequent meetings at each other's houses, and at the tables of our kind friends in Sheffield, did not allow many days to pass without spending some hours together, and your mother and myself seldom walked out on business or on pleasure alone—when on pleasure, often accompanied by our nurses and children, who kept within our view, and were an ever-pleasing topic of conversation. Plans for their future benefit were proposed and discussed with the earnestness of youthful mothers who had yet all to learn on the subject of education, and the difficult task of subjecting a mother's feelings to convictions of duty. While happy in having found such a companion as your mother, I was still more so in being under the ministry of your father, whose beautifully clear manner of expounding the Word of God, and then of bringing it to bear on my religious feelings, was such as I had not previously met with, while in our friendly parties abroad and in our family intercourse his conversation was uniformly serious and instructive. Like his ministry in the pulpit, every word had its proper place, and every sentence might have been digested previously, whatever was the subject of discourse. Sometimes your dear mother's uncontrollable wit suddenly disturbed our gravity; but he was never seen otherwise than in his own proper character as a minister of the Gospel of Christ. I thought I could perceive in him a natural warmth of temper, and secretly admired the power of grace in its subjection, though he was ever earnest where the cause of religion was endangered. If I ever saw him warm, it was in reference to the desecration of the Sabbath, as to which he was painfully opposed. Would we had more such advocates in this day of strife on the subject! I remember, when in Sheffield, I had taken my child into a field behind the house during the time her nurse was at chapel. I casually mentioned having done so at our evening's social meeting, when he rather sharply reproved me, not for the thing itself, but for the example. 'If Mrs. Newton be seen walking about during Divine service, what Methodist need refrain from a like indulgence?' Thus he

spoke; and my own dear husband smiled approvingly. I saw they were right, and that I ought to abstain from the appearance of evil. It has had an influence on me during my long life, and I now pity the Christian who can not enjoy the duties of the Sabbath, and find in them a relaxation after the six days' toil of the preceding week. I need not say your father was popular in Sheffield. He was always so; but his ministry was evidently greatly valued for its efficiency. The two friends, Newton and Bunting, went in unison of spirit to their work, and not only every Sabbath, but on many evenings during the week, met and talked over the cares of the circuit and the mercies of the day, concluding with family worship. After a year thus spent we found it a trial to separate. We removed to Huddersfield, and they remained another year in Sheffield. For the two years following our intercourse was interrupted; but we still had sometimes an interview with your father when engaged in occasional services, and he came to christen our oldest boy in the chapel at Holmfirth. It was a time of great interest to the kind friends there. Never shall I forget the fervency of his prayer for the child at the conclusion of the service. From Holmfirth we removed to London, and in the course of our sojourn there Mr. Bunting was called to baptize our next child in the Hinde Street Chapel. I almost forgot the delicate state of my health while I conversed, with my dear husband and with him, of old times and of future prospects. My health induced my dear husband to remove to a country station. It was about the time of the first missionary meeting at Leeds, and from Mr. Bunting at that time I had an account of the commencement of a work that has been, and is increasingly, of such importance in the Church. One short year before I had the pleasure of entertaining Dr. Coke, who, with my husband, had been (I should think) on his last begging expedition before he left for India, so soon to be called up higher, and to leave his consecrated work in other hands. For several years subsequently to 1815 our residences were widely distant; but in 1824, when we were in Salford, Mr. Bunting came to Manchester, and we renewed our friendly intercourse. Many of our children were then come to an age when we could no longer amuse ourselves with their little weaknesses, but were tremblingly alive to our own responsibilities and to their fu-



ture welfare. Many were the conversations between your mother and myself on subjects so interesting. Our next meeting as neighbors was at Liverpool. Her health was declining, but I little thought I should so soon lose my early friend. The last time I saw her she was very ill in Liverpool, and, though we did not apprehend danger, your dear father's spirits were very low, and she was painfully learning the hard lesson that to do God's will was over, and to suffer it was begun. I have only to record my remembrance of her uniform moral worth. Few knew her more intimately than myself. We were of different temperaments. Your mother's wit was often irrepressible, but it was never frivolous; and, when her heart was laid most open to the inspection of her friends, it was found on the side of true religion and of the strictest honor. She once said to me, 'I should hate myself if I thought my frivolity had given pain to any one.' My disposition was very different: I was romantic, sentimental, and grave; and our mutual friendship seemed to mould our differences into what was good for both. We never differed in opinion but with renewed friendship as its consequence. Thus far of your dear father's partner in early life. Her cheerfulness tempered his solemnity, but never stood in the way of right. His mind was honored by all who knew him, and rightly appreciated by his wife. He was ever a warm Methodist. Perhaps I have thought that his enthusiasm, as I first knew him when young, became not less pure in consequence of his connection in later days with the Evangelical Alliance, breathing a sublime feeling of unity with all who love the Master. I have also thought that the mutual friendship of our husbands was favorable to their respective characters. Your father's solid, mathematical way of thinking and speaking checked the exuberance of my dear husband's imagination and liveliness. Both were called into the ministry at the same time, and both became what is called popular. What is more to be valued, by the instrumentality of both, young as they were, the Church was edified and multiplied. My own husband, your dear mother admitted in one of our friendly controversies, preached at times very great sermons, but she added, 'My husband never preaches a little one.' I could not contradict her, though I did not, at the moment, quite relish the imputation conveyed. It has ever been pleasant to me to

feel assured that the friendship of our husbands continued unabated to the end of one life, and I doubt not the recollection of its early formation and long continuance gratefully remained on the mind of the other during his few remaining years. Our families were dispersed, but were never heard of, in weal or woe, but with warm interest on both sides. I have lived retired for some years, and have seen little of your dear father, of his children, or of the respectable lady who solaced his latter days; but his children are never mentioned in my hearing without producing a warm interest in their present and future welfare, and a recurrence to some of the many conversations I have had with their dear mother on their hopes for this life and for that to come. That mother and the fathers of our children are gone. I remain alone. No, not alone; for the Husband of the widow and the Father of the fatherless is ever near me. May Jabez Bunting and Robert Newton and their children's mothers meet in heaven!"

While stationed in the Sheffield circuit my father preached on five hundred and sixteen occasions. I conclude the chapter with James Montgomery's estimate of the general character of his ministry: "He is a great man: he delivers the most important scriptural truths in such a way as to make them appear plain and familiar; so much so, indeed, that some of his intelligent hearers are occasionally almost tempted to believe they could themselves do what he does with so much apparent ease; yet they are very much mistaken; for that very simplicity of language, which involves so much fullness and fitness of thought, shows also how perfectly the preacher has attained that 'art to conceal art,' which is the result of successful study. I heard him constantly when he was stationed at Sheffield several years since, and still remember many of his sermons."

## CHAPTER XV.

## HIS EARLY MINISTRY AT LIVERPOOL.

Appointment to Liverpool.—William Bramwell.—James Buckley.—Successful Ministry.—Correspondence.—His own Letters as to teaching Writing on the Sabbath.—Letters from Moore on miscellaneous Topics.—Dr. Magee's Attack upon the Methodists.—The Case of Brighthouse Chapel.—Management of the Connectional Funds.—Thomas Rankin's Bequests.—The Death of Robert Lomas.—The Conference of 1810.—Dr. Clarke's Commentary.—Letters from Edward Hare and Robert Newton.—The Influence of Trustees over Church Management.—Lord Sidmouth's Bill.—Richard Watson.—The Use of Organs and of Liturgies.—The Conference of 1811.

At Liverpool, to which town my father removed soon after the Conference of 1809, he was placed under the superintendence of William Bramwell, succeeded, during the second year, by Joseph Entwisle. James Bogie and the elder Theophilus Lessey were his colleagues, the latter subsequently exchanged for James Buckley. These names must be passed over in almost total silence. BRAMWELL has been before mentioned, and his occasional disregard of those laws of order and of peace which are essential to the unity and usefulness of the Church can never obliterate from its grateful memory his deep piety and fervent zeal. A biography might still be written of him which should exhibit his example to the imitation of the Methodist people, without, on the one hand, any enthusiastic eulogy of his defects, or, on the other, too much effort to conceal them. In the delineation of the character of good men, it is well to state it just as it is. The most obvious errors, while they show the natural tendency of the mind, show, also, and make conspicuous, the better qualities, innate or ingrafted, which, on the whole, prevailed. The stern and ascetic revivalist at Liverpool, somewhat apt to believe that great gifts and great graces were never bestowed upon the same minister, soon found out that his young colleague was at least as zealous as himself, and was delighted with the visible success which attended the common labors of the co-pastorate. Even as to his own wonder-

ful power of storming the consciences of careless sinners, Bramwell rejoiced to know that he did not stand alone, or, indeed, pre-eminent among them.

For notices of BOGIE and of LESSEY, the latter name rendered more famous by the son than by the father, I must refer to the usual channels of information. Both were of longer ministerial standing than my father, and, though he contracted for them a lasting respect, no very close intimacy resulted from the connection.

It was otherwise in the case of JAMES BUCKLEY, who became, and to the time of his death continued, one of my father's most affectionate and trusty friends. To those who were familiar with Buckley's refinement both of manner and of character, it was a surprise to hear that he sprang from an obscure family in a district of Lancashire, which, during his childhood and early training, was as uncivilized as could be found in Christian England. But he inherited the good sense and shrewdness of his race; and, when grace polished the diamond, it was worthy of a better setting than the conditions and contingencies of the Methodist itinerancy sometimes permitted. His brethren, however, loved him, and knew his worth, and, by their influence, he was introduced to positions of great importance, which he always worthily sustained. His settlement in South Wales, after forty-two years' service, removed him from general observation, and inferior men of his standing are better known to this generation. The last Conference he attended was that which commemorated the centenary of Methodism. He was present at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, administered, as is usual, at the close of the session. The same evening he fell ill, and in a few days "the end" of the "upright" man was once more acknowledged to be "peace."

The two years spent by my father at Liverpool among a kind and an intelligent people were some of the happiest of his early ministry. Though yet young, he had felt his ground. His popularity as a preacher, and his high connectional position—perhaps, more than both, the struggles through which he had passed in his preceding circuit—had forced on him some knowledge of his powers, and, by increasing his sense of responsibility, had put him upon more vigorous effort to serve the Church. The local results are, to a large extent, harvested in Paradise.



Some, however, who, by his "mouth, heard the word of the the Gospel" and believed, "remain to this present;" and, having long studied the life of their spiritual father, have now learned the impressive lessons of his death. I have read of the funerals of barbarian chiefs round which were gathered not only their own mourning kinsmen, but those also of multitudes of murdered slaves; slain, if to give a deeper pathos to the public sorrow, yet chiefly to surround the spirit in another world with the "pomp and circumstance" to which it was accustomed here. So "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel," and Superstition writes its most touching fictions in letters of blood. But, "in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, at His coming," how stately a retinue will attend him who has recently departed!—the triumphant Savior, indeed, claiming as His own, and gathering around His blessed Person not only "the whole family" of the "children" "given" Him, but every "good and faithful servant" recognizing the converts of his individual ministry as his "glory and joy."

Extracts from my father's correspondence must now be still fewer and more brief. It refers to almost every conceivable subject. The spiritual and financial state of the connection; tidings from former circuits; news of events of national concern; applications for assistance on charitable occasions; speculations in theology; offers to explain the Book of the Revelation; strictures on sermons, on the pulpit-manner of the preacher, and on the dress or demeanor of himself and his wife, infants, and domestics; suggestions as to the pointed application of discourses to persons who were to be brought to hear them;\* challenges to public discussion by all kinds of petty

\* Take a specimen: "Did I not feel in my own mind a certainty that you would kindly pardon the liberty I am taking in thus addressing you, I should not presume to trouble you. I will rely on your good-nature to excuse me when you consider the motive by which I am actuated. I have lately had a conversation with a friend of mine (an officer in the ——), and have at last so far got the better of his almost unconquerable prejudices as to have obtained his promise to accompany me this evening to —— Street Chapel. Knowing something of his disposition, I presume to trouble you with his symptoms, which you will notice or not, as seems best to your better judgment. He is much prejudiced against the Methodists. He is loyal to his king, I believe, but doubts their loyalty; has a good share of personal consequence and pride, and seems to believe religion well enough

sectaries, backed by all kinds of threats, entreaties, and enticements; communications from young preachers inviting notice, and asking advice as to the conduct of their studies; conjectures, expectations, and sometimes expressions of anxious desire as to the future stations of ministers; stories of small feuds between great men, forgotten by the parties themselves before the ink was dry; inquiries as to the price of timber at the port, cheap chapels being in requisition; endeavors to ascertain the character and circumstances of the writers of begging-letters, for the guidance of cautious givers at a distance; *strictly private* inquiries as to the eligibility of young ladies for the itinerancy; projects of all sorts of institutions, literary, benevolent, and religious; solicitations of patronage from authors as yet unsuccessful, and from very enterprising publishers; announcements of births, marriages, and deaths, of persons known and unknown, of all ages, and in all quarters of the globe, each requiring a suitable and immediate reply of congratulation or of condolence—this is a very imperfect index to the letters which lie before the biographer of any man who occupied a position such as that now filled by my father. Some have spoken to me since I began to write these volumes as if the examination of his papers, accumulated during sixty years, must necessarily for the vulgar; believes himself as good as other people; allows it would be as well not to get drunk quite so often or to swear so much; seems to have no fear but he will go to heaven; does not want common sense. I think he seemed most to notice what I said of religion increasing instead of diminishing our comforts, and that it did not forbid us to smile. I fancied he listened with a good deal of attention, and a tincture of alarm, at what I said of the certainty of death and judgment, and the happiness of heaven or the torments of hell, and that we must choose one or the other. He assures me that, when he gets old, he shall probably consider this sort of things, but that young people have no business to think on such melancholy subjects, as it only hurts their spirits. Again entreating your forgiveness for thus trespassing upon your time, and praying you may say something that may penetrate to his heart, allow me to subscribe myself," etc. I have a great respect for the writer of this letter. But, as a rule, would it be wise to try so to point public discourse as to strike individuals rather than classes? There are popular preachers nowadays who are never happy except when they are making some hearer believe that they know the deepest secrets of his conscience, and are able to assure him of his personal, fatal, and inevitable doom. Surely what God has not told to them they can not tell to others. And can any thing more deeply degrade the ordinance of preaching than such random methods of trying to do good?

have revealed to me secrets which not prudence merely, but the honor of religion and of Methodism, would require me to preserve inviolate. It is right that I should state, in one explicit sentence, that very few secrets have been discovered; and, with the exception of cases of evil which, sooner or later, have become notorious, scarcely one of which even an uncan-did reader could take mischievous advantage. Certainly the correspondence might be published without any imputation upon the purity and disinterestedness of the very large number of persons sustaining a Christian reputation with whom my father had to deal.

Letters from Hare and Grindrod became, from this date, very long and numerous, and, though but few of my father's replies are preserved, they were punctual and communicative. With Griffith, Entwisle, and Marsden, the accustomed interchange of information and of opinions still continued.

During the first few months of my father's appointment to Liverpool, Hare's letters related chiefly to the subject which had given my father so much trouble in his former circuit. The advocates of teaching writing on the Sunday gathered round Mr. Myles, and that easy superintendent not only conceded the matter in dispute, but altered his own views, and, by all the means which the Constitution placed within his power, and by some which he improvised for the occasion, favored the few factious men whom my father had successfully confronted. Some of them had been dismissed from the society; but Mr. Myles, within a fortnight after my father's removal, procured the tacit consent of the leaders' meeting to their readmittance, on condition that, for the future, they promised submission to authority, and that they made a suitable apology to the minister who had left them for various acts of impertinence and of injury which he had suffered at their hands. Hare, who remained in the circuit, together with Valentine Ward and David McNICOLL, who had just arrived, after vainly plying the chief minister with arguments and expostulations, deemed it best to sit by in indignant silence, and to permit him to pursue his own course. The schools originally commenced in opposition to the judgment of the regular circuit tribunal were now taken under its patronage, and the protest so boldly made against the violation of the Sabbath seemed, for the time, to have been utterly thrown away.

The malcontents had no difficulty in tendering a fresh adhesion to the discipline of the connection, but they shrank from the fancied degradation of apologizing to a defeated enemy. There was no hope of inducing the leaders' meeting to dispense with this condition, and the superintendent was at his wits' end; so he wrote to my father, informing him that he had heard, through Mr. Holy, that one of the persons concerned was sorry if he had done any thing wrong; hoping the apology would be accepted; expressing his wish to hear in reply; and concluding, "We have had the best love-feast last Sunday that ever I saw in Sheffield, and yesterday we had a very peaceful and loving Quarterly meeting. My prayer is that the Lord may be with us, and keep us from all evil."

If John Wesley himself had written such a letter as this to my father, it would have been treated by him with the silence which he observed on the present occasion. But to Mr. Hare and to Mr. Holy he expressed himself in terms which are worthy of record. To the former he wrote, on December 23d, 1809, on the back of a communication which he had received from Mr. Holy:

"MY VERY DEAR BROTHER,—Having just received this letter from Mr. Holy, I am inclined to reply, but think it best to send you the letter first (having no time to copy the material parts) and to request your advice how to answer. That advice is the more necessary, because I can not exactly understand what is the state of affairs in Sheffield. I wish much to have done with this painful business. It is useless to protract the defense of one point when the main positions have been treacherously surrendered. The idea that strikes me at present is to tell Mr. Holy that with him I am willing to communicate on this subject, being confident of the sincerity of his friendly professions, and satisfied that I am safe in trusting myself to a correspondence with him; that I am more than ever convinced that Sunday-school writing is unlawful; that I am confirmed in this opinion by the concurrent judgment of such men as Benson, Moore, Wood, Joseph Taylor, Griffith, Lomas, and almost all the leading seniors in our own connection, and by that of some of the most respectable clergymen in the Establishment and dissenting bodies in various parts of the



kingdom, who, having heard of what has passed, have voluntarily conveyed to me their sentiments of approval of our conduct, and of regret that what they consider as an awful abuse of the Sabbath should be defended by any who profess Christianity; that even most of those who, if the subject had been resumed and decided at our Conference, would have voted against a minute requiring our people to abandon the practice, would yet have been heartily glad that the people themselves, or a majority of them, should be brought, of themselves, and without the interference of the Conference, to exchange Sunday writing for week-day writing; that I consider some of the measures pursued at Sheffield since the Conference to have betrayed toward our friends a spirit of downright, barefaced persecution, and that for conscience' sake, which is highly disgraceful to the parties concerned in it, but worthy of men whose only steady principle is policy, and who have notoriously sacrificed consistency and friendship to convenience and to faction; that, however men may change, truth and the fourth commandment change not; and that I, as well as those who acted with me, have the consolation of knowing that our work is with the Lord, and our judgment not with our opponents and calumniators, but with our God; that, as to that part of the business which is personal between —— and myself, it was not I, but a full leaders' meeting, that made an apology to me the condition of his readmission; that, in point of fact, to me he has yet made nothing like apology, but that I have not, nor ever had, any personal ill-will toward him; and that, if the leaders themselves think proper to forgive him without his fulfilling the condition of making an apology to me, I have no disposition to obstruct the extension of their mercy to him. Of my forgiveness he may rest assured, and of my best wishes for his present and eternal happiness. Will this do? If it will, shall I send it to Mr. Holy, or directly to the leaders? Will the latter plan of acting be unconstitutional, or do more harm than good? Write freely by return of post, and inclose this letter in yours. You see my wish. I would end the business in a peaceable, yet bold, honest, and spirited way.

"I am, as ever, your very affectionate, J. BUNTING."

To Mr. Holy he wrote: "There is one part of your letter to  
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which you probably expect that I should return some answer. It relates to a topic which is to me extremely unpleasant, and on which, in fact, I had determined that I would not again write at large to any person in Sheffield, unless regularly and officially called upon to do so. Mr. Myles's letter I do not consider as an official call. It did not convey to me the idea that Mr. —'s restoration is yet suspended, as you seem now to intimate that it is, on my acceptance of an apology to be made by him to me, but merely informs me of the new measures which have been adopted in the Sheffield school since Conference—mentions, among other things, what Mr. — said to you on the 20th of September, and then simply adds, 'Thus we have endeavored to end our unhappy disputes.' Of course I inferred that those disputes were ended, and I had no disposition to revive them by discussing the justice or injustice, the fitness or unfitness of that end. It is true, Mr. Myles does say in his postscript, 'I hope you will accept of Mr. —'s apology.' But I have not yet received one single line of apology from Mr. —. He has never written to me at all since I left Sheffield. Of me, indeed, he and some others of his party did write to the Conference, making statements which were not correct. But, notwithstanding this fresh attempt to injure me, if he had written to me, as the leaders required, he should still have seen that, according to my former promise, I would not have exacted from him any very hard or difficult concessions; and I can not help expressing to you some surprise that, if he be so penitent as is represented, he should not at once have evinced that penitence by complying with the requisition of the leaders' meeting, held July 17th, which requisition runs thus: 'That he apologize to Mr. Bunting, if Mr. Bunting be living, for his ill-natured and false insinuation concerning him in the meeting of the leaders on Monday, May 8th.' Having then, as yet, no official call to write on this subject, I think myself at liberty to decline any correspondence with Mr. Myles respecting it. He does me the honor, indeed, to intimate, in the postscript above-mentioned, that he would be 'glad to hear from' me; but, considering that, if I wrote to him at all under present circumstances, some notice of this business would be unavoidable, I judged it best, on the whole, to consign it to silence and oblivion; and nothing but my great personal re-

spect for yourself would have induced me even now to enter into this explanation of my conduct. By my God, and by those who have known every thing connected with this affair from its beginning to its end, I have no doubt that my silence to Mr. Myles will not be blamed; it is no small proof of my wish to 'follow peace with all men.' So much about not having answered Mr. Myles's letter. As to Mr. —, I must now farther observe that it was not I, but a leaders' meeting (with only five dissenting votes), who, of their own accord, and from their full conviction of the false and injurious nature of the language used concerning me in their presence, insisted on an apology from him to me as one condition of his readmission. This requisition of theirs, above exactly quoted, certainly demands a mode of reparation very different from any thing which has yet been offered. Now I have no power to annul the solemn and repeated decision of a competent and Methodistical tribunal, nor can I see it right to tease and weary them into a third trial of the same cause after their regular and conscientious adjudication of it. Yet you, as a friend, will say that, as I have not, nor ever had, any personal ill-will to Mr. —, if the leaders themselves are of opinion that they can justly and righteously revoke their former spontaneous resolution, or alter the terms and tenor of it, I have not the inclination, whatever right I might plead, to arrest the operation of their clemency. This is for them to consider; and be the responsibility theirs, not mine. In any case, Mr. — may rest assured of my hearty forgiveness, and of my best wishes for his present and eternal happiness. While I thus disclaim the intention of preferring any appeal against any future proceeding of the leaders' meeting on that part of the business which is personal between me and Mr. —, I owe it to truth and conscience at the same time to declare that, as to the grand point in dispute, my judgment remains unaltered. I am more than ever convinced by an examination of the Bible, and by an inquiry into facts, that the practice of teaching writing and arithmetic on the Lord's day is unnecessary, inexpedient, mischievous, and, above all, unlawful; that it is not a trivial evil, but in its consequences and tendencies one of the most serious magnitude; and that an enlightened regard even to the temporal advantage, and much more to the spiritual interests of the rising generation

themselves, as well as our obligation to obey with literal accuracy the whole revealed law of God, would suggest that all secular arts should be taught on week-day evenings only to those who regularly attend for still higher purposes in the Lord's-day schools. In this opinion I am confirmed by the sentiments which were avowed at our last Conference by Messrs. Benson, Moore, Clarke, James Wood, Joseph Taylor, Griffith, Barber, Lomas, and others, especially of our senior teachers, and by the concurring judgment of the most judicious and pious clergymen of the Establishment and Dissenting ministers of the greatest eminence in this kingdom; some of whom, having heard of what has been done and undone at Sheffield, have within the last four months voluntarily communicated to me their feelings of deep surprise and regret that what they consider as so great an abuse of the Christian Sabbath should be defended or practiced by any serious people. Such, then, as was my opinion, such is my opinion still; for I trust in God's mercy ever to save me from the guilt of sacrificing principle to policy, conscience to custom, or consistency and friendship to convenience and faction. Having thus told you, my dear sir, all that is in my heart, with that frankness which a friend has a right to expect, and which becomes a man persuaded that he has God's unchanged and unchangeable commandment on his side, I now take leave of the subject, sincerely hoping that not even the attention due to one whom I so much respect as yourself will render it necessary ever again to recur to it. Whether you show to any other person this private communication written solely for your own eye, and designed to explain and justify to your own mind my conduct and views, must be left to your discretion. But I do most particularly request and urge that, if it be shown at all, the whole of this letter, and not any partial extract of its contents, may be divulged. Excuse the trouble of this long epistle, which I do assure you it can not be more unpleasant for you to read than it has been for me to write; and believe that I am, with my own and my wife's affectionate regards to yourself, Mrs. H., and your daughters, with best love to all my Sheffield friends, of whom I often think with much esteem, and with Christian good-will even to my Sheffield opponents, persecutors, and slanderers, your obliged and very faithful friend and servant,

"J. BUNTING."



Two very characteristic letters from Mr. Moore, from which I give extracts (but without indorsing his opinions), relate to controversies which subsisted between him and some eminent laymen in the metropolis relative to his desire, and to their dislike, that he should be appointed to the City Road Circuit. It appears that the subject had been mentioned at the preceding Conference, and that my father's sentiments, as there expressed, were much to the writer's satisfaction. "I have preached at the New Chapel, and there is at least no outward hostility. But still my mind is very sore. I think it bodes no good to the work or servants of God when such a process is needful for a Methodist preacher respecting a Methodist chapel. I could not, without losing a pure conscience, keep any preacher out of any chapel to which I was appointed, unless an accusation were preferred, and pending the regular hearing of that accusation. I am certain the local preachers or leaders of London would not suffer any of their body to be thus treated. They would feel it as their own cause. Ought we not to have the same feeling? A superior feeling? Our calling is the highest, and all must stand or fall with us. Yet my brethren would always consider it as a personal thing—as my affair. I always looked upon it as a blow at the root. I really fear that, when a few are gone hence who knew Mr. Wesley and what Methodism was, the Conference will become a very servile assembly—something like a Yorkshire statute—a place to be hired at. What will the work be then? Will it be the work of God? Who will answer for this unscriptural change? I shall be happy if this affair should make the preachers think, and operate as a check to this creeping system of degradation. I have not forgotten, my dear brother, your generous conduct at the Conference. It had more than kindness in it. It tended to infuse a good spirit. But I must have done."

And again: "I did not think of troubling you so soon, but I have news that will not trouble you, but give you joy. Last Monday the case of the Brighthouse Chapel was determined in our favor! It was decided in the clearest, most peremptory manner, that the old Conference, as it was called, alone had the right of appointing the ministers who should occupy and enjoy the premises for the purposes secured in the deed. I think I see in this the dawn of good days. We need no more be sub-

ject to the will of man than to the will of Satan. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas!* I have seen not a little of this since I came hither, as well as in some other places; and we seemed to have only the alternative to quarrel or to be servile; consequently, not be holy. What an alternative to a man who loves peace, and is commanded to follow after it! How I have been sawn asunder by it, the Lord only knows. My poor shattered nerves made the trial a heavy one. I suppose you remember that Mr. Sharp, one of the Brighthouse trustees on our side, put into the bill a claim of his own to certain buildings erected by him on the premises. His cause was not determined in that absolute manner that ours was. It was ordered that the parties should go before a Master, and show if those buildings were erected according to the trust; and that it should be decided in that way, and that they should be used according as the deed ordains. A just decree! I can not but look upon all this as flowing from the goodness of our wise and holy God, and that it is His intimation that Methodism should not be secularized. Puritanism was brought low by secular men; so will Methodism be, if we are not faithful. I could say much to what you say about the right of our good and modest people to state their desires to the Conference, if I thought the wind did not blow from the opposite point. I could lie at the feet of such people forever. As to Sunday-schools, I have been some time convinced that, in the way they are conducted, they operate against the spirituality of the Church. I am quite confirmed in this since I came to London. What a figure do many make herein that are utterly dead to God! and, if a preacher meddle with them, they are up in arms directly. Till I see better days, I shall meddle with them as little as possible. I see no trembling 'at God's Word' among them. I was much surprised at your question to me concerning the dispute at Sheffield. I know nothing of the circumstances which you mention except from you. My advice was neither asked nor had. I only heard that there had been much trouble concerning what was done last year, but that the Conference having come to no determination, matters were brought back to the old way by a considerable majority. But, my brother, do not many of these persons make up the majorities of quarterly meetings in choosing preachers? The Conference has risen in reputation with the

people here since their decision respecting me. It was thought they could not or dare not resist the gentlemen of the New Chapel. My dear brother, can you think that I find any happiness in being in London, and in such a fire, except that which results from a consciousness of duty, and that public spirit which the Lord requires in all his servants? Liverpool! Yes, it was a heaven to me, even while contending against the Killhamites; and so I trust it would be to me again. London is a purgatory; but I must not come out till I am called. The Lord is with me."

Mr. Hartwell Horne writes to my father in December, 1809, with an account of the literary engagements to which he is then pledged, and thus concludes: "And now, my dear sir, give me leave to ask, in my turn, what are your pursuits? Do you intend to add nothing to the literary stores of our country? Some go so far as to say that the religious world has some claim upon the talents with which you have been endowed."

This letter was soon followed by an application from Mr. Edwards, the publisher, to prepare a series of Notes on the Holy Scriptures on a plan similar to that on which Benson was already at work. The very fact of this similarity was sufficient to insure my father's prompt refusal, in which he was countenanced by letters from Griffith and from Lomas. "Take time to weigh the matter," writes the former, "before you engage with Mr. Edwards, or any other bookseller whatever. His urging you for an answer in a very few days ought to render you the more cautious. He will, no doubt, be glad to get you to engage in the work, and the more so as 'pecuniary recompense' is no part of your object, and 'has not been stipulated in your negotiation.' Why should it not? Why should you drudge to fill his coffers? If it would be both indecorous and in itself improper in you to engage in any thing like a rival publication to that which Mr. Benson is preparing, supposing your name were prefixed to it, it would be more so, in my opinion, to publish one without your name. Concealment in matters of this kind places an honest man in a very awkward situation. On your part, you are utterly unfit for it. By nature and grace you are too honest for concealment. Besides, I have no notion that your secret would be kept. I have another objection to your acceding to Mr. Edwards's proposal. I think you are cap-

able of doing something better than furnishing such Notes as Mr. Edwards wants. Begin and prepare full Notes upon the Scriptures. This will afford you all the advantages of Mr. Edwards's plan, and many more. Review and mature them; and in due time publish them, or dispose of them for the advantage of your children, as well as of the public."

Mr. Lomas expresses similar views in one of the last letters which he wrote to my father. "It appears to me that you have come to a proper conclusion respecting Mr. Edwards's work. Let us do all the good we can in our own way. Let us do nothing that we are not willing should be known to our brethren. But these are only my thoughts on the slightest consideration of the subject, for I can not enter into any thing deeply. Do favor me with another letter soon. Thank God, I find my affliction a great blessing to my soul. The Lord is mine, and I am His, and am at rest. Peace be with you!"

To Mr. Grindrod my father writes on January 18th, 1810: "I like Liverpool much better than I expected. It is an interesting town, and the people are most friendly and attentive. I am on very good, but not intimate terms with all my worthy colleagues. Mr. Branwell is affectionate, but extremely reserved. The work is now tolerably prosperous. At Michaelmas visitation appearances were discouraging; we had no increase of members at all; but the Christmas quarter, by God's blessing, produced an accession of nearly one hundred, besides making up the deficiency by deaths, removals, and apostasies. God send us still greater success! We are about to build a fourth chapel immediately in the neighborhood of Islington or the London Road. A handsome subscription is likely to be obtained."

To his friend Mr. Wood my father writes, referring to a controversy then raging in Manchester between the Rev. Mr. Smyth,\* of the Established Church, and the late venerable William Roby. "Mr. Roby's pamphlet I have not yet read. Accept my acknowledgments for your kind attention in sending it. How coolly he writes; and how much does this give him the advantage over his opponent! I hear Mr. Smyth is

\* The "archbishop's nephew" whom Henry Moore went expecting to hear preach in Dublin, but Bradburn preached in his stead. (See page 221.) Mr. Smyth at this time held an incumbency in Manchester.



preparing an answer. I hope he will be more guarded and temperate. Mr. Roby's representation of Calvinism is well calculated to hide the real difficulties of the system, and ought to be refuted. Yet Mr. Smyth should not persist in charging modern Calvinists with consequences which they disclaim. In the statements which they themselves avow there is good and sufficient ground of controversy. As for me, I am tired of warfare, and mean to be as quiet as duty will let me be. If I do become a polemic, it will be, I think, on the Sunday-school question. But, strongly as I feel the abominations which are done in the midst of us in that way, I am at present more disposed, though with a doubting conscience, to 'sigh and cry' for them in private than to attack them in public, until imperiously compelled to do so."

Mr. Griffith had written, with Mr. Benson's sanction, requesting my father to reply to some observations contained in a note to a recent publication by Dr. Magee. My father replies as follows: "As to answering Magee, did you not know that, long before you wrote to me, Mr. Benson had applied to Mr. Hare, who has nearly completed the task? My aversion to authorship increases. Besides, I think such an assailant as Dr. Magee should have been met by one of our first men in point of reputation, *e. g.*, Mr. Benson, Mr. Moore, or Dr. Clarke. Of Mr. Hare's talents I have a very high opinion, but as yet he is unknown to the literary world. I did not see the obnoxious note in Magee till ten days ago, and then only in a bookseller's shop for a few moments. I am surprised at its acerbity. When I knew something of him eleven years ago, he was a liberal man, and spoke respectfully of Methodism. Who reviewed 'Horne' in the Magazine?\*" Does he understand genuine Methodism? I think he wrote either in a hurry or in a mist."

The decision of the Master of the Rolls in the case of Brighthouse Chapel is adverted to with great triumph not only by Mr. Moore in the letter from which I have already quoted, but by

\* See Methodist Magazine for January and February, 1810. The writer was a clever man, but, though he was a respectable *littérateur*, he was not a profound divine. Benson, however, no mean judge, had a very high opinion of him, and says, in a letter, that the article in question was written by a correspondent, of whose communications not one word was ever altered by the editor. Hare was indignant both at the course of the argument and at the want of precision in the use of terms.

many of my father's stated correspondents. The question involved was exceedingly simple, and, had it related to a private instead of to a public trust, would never have been disputed between reasonable men. The appointment of ministers to the chapel referred to was, by the Foundation Deed, given to the Methodist Conference. At the time of its execution there was but one body answering to that description; but when Mr. Kilham, and two or three preachers with him, separated from the parent connection, they too claimed to be a Methodist Conference, and, on the strength of this pretension, the trustees of Brighthouse Chapel, and of other chapels similarly settled, ousted the nominees of the elder body, and accepted those of the younger. It was plain that the Conference intended was the Conference in existence at the time the deed was made; equally so that, the trusts being clearly expressed, and being capable of execution, without violence to any paramount intention of the founders, the Court of Chancery itself had no power to alter them. But some very obvious propositions puzzle those who do not wish to understand them, and it is often well that they should be sifted through the intellects of great lawyers and judges, and then authoritatively presented, in their simple verity, to those who have doubted them. Such a service was rendered in this instance. The fever of 1797 was beginning to cool, and the new connection saw things distinctly the moment they were explained to them by the Master of the Rolls. Every chapel which was worth claiming was shortly restored to its original purpose. In this matter my father evinced both his caution and his Christianity. "The decision in the Brighthouse affair," he writes to Mr. Grindrod, "will be a terrible blow to the Kilhamites, and is a most important event in the history of our connection, yet I hope we shall use our triumph with moderation. It seems they have made a small division at Birmingham, and, what is laughable enough, have taken a room in a place called Needless Alley."

The exclusively clerical management of the connectional funds again occupied, about this period, much of my father's consideration, and it is the subject of correspondence between him, Barber, Griffith, Entwisle, and Marsden. It was, I believe, discussed at the ensuing Conference, but the feeling against change was still too powerful to be easily overcome. The sub-

mitted, in his letters to his friends, some proposals for the fuller publication of the connectional accounts, which received their unanimous sanction; but even these failed to secure the sympathy of the Conference. It is easy to guess at some of the reasons for this indisposition to alter the existing state of affairs. Very few of the ministers cared to concern themselves with finance, and those who really wished to understand it had not, generally speaking, been trained to any practical knowledge of the details of business. The strife and obloquy, too, which had attended the discussion of such questions in 1797, made every lover of peace very anxious to avoid them. And, to crown these difficulties, there was the standing disadvantage that the true position of the clergy was not yet clearly defined and understood. The control of the connectional funds was an important element of power, especially during times of agitation; and while there was any uncertainty in the tone of connectional feeling as to a point so material to the very existence of Methodism, some cautious men, who thoroughly sympathized with my father's general opinions, did not know what was the first step to take in carrying them into effect, and would do nothing lest they should do wrong. It was his policy, on the other hand, to promote simultaneous improvements in all directions. Let the entrance into the ministry be still diligently guarded; let all the ancient usages of mutual inquiry and supervision, of itinerancy, and of sustentation,\* be sacredly pre-

\* Above all, the ancient usage of itinerancy. My father would never have listened with approval to any scheme which gave to one of several ministers in a circuit the exclusive or preferential occupancy of any pulpit within its bounds. Such plans are attempted with the best intentions, and in the hope that a particular class of preaching will attract the poor to deserted sanctuaries, or the rich to new chapels in fashionable neighborhoods. All honor to the zeal which conceives and executes these new contrivances! But are they not irreconcilably opposed to the principle which has worked so long and well? The virtue of the Methodist system lies not only in the periodical change, but in the constant variety of ministers; and the genius and eloquence, or the honest fervor which captivate all kinds of hearers, must be mixed, and, at all events, in no excess, with other modes of thought, expression, and manner, quite as necessary to the gathering and consolidation of churches, and to the attainment of the great ends of the Christian ministry. While some other Nonconformists are seriously considering how they may best secure the inestimable advantages of a co-pastorate, let us not lightly part with them. How are the just claims and commendable feelings

served; let the standard of literary, theological, and religious attainment be made higher and more uniform; in short, let the ministry be such as should command, without controversy or reluctance, the recognition and confidence of the people. But, at the same time, respect their rights; secure their services in every department not assigned by the New Testament exclusively to the minister or to the pastorate; relieve the clergy from a burden which was greater than they could bear, and from wretched suspicions, ill-natured insinuations, and bitter calumnies; and pour the light of noonday upon the smouldering fires of faction, so putting them out forever. These two lines of action, so far from being diverse, were the two component parts of one complete and comprehensive system; and, as each was steadily and prudently pursued, it promoted and secured the other.

“Mr. Rankin died well,” says Mr. Griffith, in a letter dated May 30th, 1810, “but carried his peculiarities to the brink of the grave. He has left something to every one of us: a medal of the late Mr. Whitefield to Dr. Clarke; his cocked hat to Mr. Benson; his wig to Mr. Rodda; his short boots to Mr. Jenkins; his long boots to Mr. Johnson; to me, his cane and cloak. You will be sure that I have had quite enough upon my hands at present, and shall have till Conference; and I have not, among all my brethren, a Bunting or a Brown\* to help me, and yet they are all excellent men. I am glad that there are preachers who think for the connection.”

During the next month, the tidings of the death of Robert Lomas flew through the connection, and, upon those who knew his worth, produced the impression of an irreparable loss. Perhaps no man whom Methodism has produced resembled my father so strongly in the union of some qualities seldom com-

of all the ministers in a circuit to be respected if any preference exist as among themselves? Dare I add, Are these innovations never “purchased with money?” I feel sure my motive in adding this note will obtain for it a candid reading. At all events, I am persuaded I speak my honored father’s mind.

\* The late Rev. John Brown, who had been stationed with Mr. Griffith in Manchester, and by whose decease, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, the connection was deprived of an able and zealous minister. Notices of him will be found in the Methodist Magazine for 1811, and in the Minutes for 1812.



bined, and each of the highest possible value to a Methodist preacher. I refer to their common conversance with, and interest in questions of connectional finance, which yet they subordinated to the great spiritual work of Methodism. These "outward things" were felt to belong to "the house of the Lord;" and this relation induced and sanctified the attention which was paid to them. Is there any danger, in our day, that this relation may be forgotten, and that mere activity and ability in the details of business may be rated at more than their real worth? The necessities of the system can not be denied. Heads must think, and hands must write, if either our local or our general enterprises are to succeed; and it is sometimes a source of annoyance and of difficulty when, in the Conference or the Quarterly meeting, the wise, eloquent, and faithful preacher, or the diligent or experienced pastor, is unable to conceal his indifference to financial affairs, or his utter incapacity to deal with them. But every talent has its own place and value. Peculiar aptness for inferior duties will not supply the lack of proper qualifications for the higher—strictly speaking, indeed, the sole—work of the ministry. There is no need, however, for the failure, in any respect, of any man intrusted with the Divine commission to feed and rule the Church. In a community like ours, especially where the proper functions of the diaconate are so well understood and so extensively discharged by the laity, an honest and enlightened aim to accomplish the whole round of ministerial labor is uniformly successful.

So was it in the case of Robert Lomas—a Brainerd in self-renunciation, and in the ceaseless, plaintive cry of his inmost soul for the Divine sufficiency; yet, when work was to be done, however secular in its first aspect, alert, cautious, and painstaking; studious in the closet; solemn and rousing in the pulpit; assiduous, tender, and skillful among the people of his charge; quick and accurate at the secretary's desk; thrifty and managing as a man of business; all in the spirit of the servant who knows not "at what hour" his "Lord doth come." And He made "no long tarrying." "My dear brother," writes Mr. Marsden, "how uncertain are all our prospects here, and in what a land of shadows do we live! Our dear Lomas is called away in the very strength of his years. How mysterious a

Providence, that a man of so much piety, integrity, and usefulness should be taken from us! He was a pillar of Methodism, and one that would have stood firmly. In the Conference, I always knew he would take that side of any question which would most probably promote the glory of God; and the preachers evidently paid much attention to what he said." Then Mr. Marsden refers to the decease of one of my father's kindest friends. "You have also heard of the death of Mrs. Allen" (of Macclesfield). "She was 'an Israelite indeed, in whom there' was 'no guile.'"

The Conference of 1810 met in London, and Benson was for the second time elected president. I have the means of distinctly tracing my father's share in the legislation of the year. "The solemn designation of our young preachers to the work of the Christian ministry among us, by their formal admission into full connection," which, by a recent regulation, had been permitted at District meetings, was ordered for the future to take place only at the Conference. The chairmen of districts were directed not only to examine very minutely in their District meetings all persons proposed to travel as ministers, but to make a special written report of the opinion of the District meeting respecting them as to health, piety, ministerial abilities, belief of our doctrines, attachment to our discipline, and freedom from debt and other secular encumbrances. The preacher, also, who recommended any candidate was required to do so in writing. A special effort was agreed upon in order to provide for the large debt of the connection, collections for less general objects being for the time restricted; and farther arrangements were made for the better transaction of the business of the Conference.

The publication of the first part of Dr. Clarke's Commentary, containing the startling discovery that the tempter of our Mother Eve recommended himself to her good graces in the form of a baboon, was the first event of connectional interest which occurred after the Conference. The general world only laughed, while critics embraced a rare opportunity of exercising their special vocation. One old Methodist preacher dealt very summarily with the new theory. Mr. Barber writes, "Will you have any objection to London next year, if Providence open the way? If you are weary of being a curate, I

will give up the bishopric to you with great pleasure." This was written by a minister who had traveled for twenty-eight years to one of only eleven years' standing. "What do you think," he continues, "of Dr. Clarke's Bible, and particularly of what he says of the old serpent? Must we now say, 'As Moses lifted up the baboon in the wilderness?' etc." Here speaks in another tone. "What think you," he says, "of Dr. Clarke's rational, talking baboon? I think that a rational creature must be a moral agent, and that a moral agent fresh from the hand of the Creator must be holy, and that the devil might as easily enter into Eve as into his apeship, and might as easily usurp the government of her soul as of that of the rational, free, and holy baboon."

On January 19th, 1811, my father addresses Mr. Marsden as follows: "At our Quarterly meeting, the trustees of Pitt Street produced their intended petition to the Conference for such a modification of the rule against organs as would permit the erection of one in their chapel to *guide* the singing. It was moved 'that the Quarterly meeting do concur with the trustees in this petition.' After a debate of two hours, conducted, on each side, on the whole, in a very brotherly way, and with no small ability, the vote was taken, when thirty were for the organ, and thirty-three against it. Here, I believe, the matter will rest, at least for the present. One good has resulted from the deliberate discussion of the subject: the brethren have learned to exercise candor toward each other's sentiments, perceiving that this is one of those points on which men may honestly form very different opinions, according to their various views of the intimations of Scripture and the suggestions of expediency. We have a good work of God in Liverpool. Very many have of late been brought to hear the Gospel, and a considerable number have heard to purpose. But, though the addition of new members has been large, the net increase of the society last quarter was only fifty. We are sanguine in our expectations of a larger accession ere long. The Lord grant us our hearts' desire! I am reading with great pleasure, and, I hope, improvement, the new edition of Milner's 'History of the Church.' He is an able writer. Yet, in spite of his constant reasonings in favor of Calvinism and diocesan Episcopacy as having existed nearly from the beginning, the facts

which even his prejudices would not allow him to conceal have confirmed me in my impressions in favor of the reverse. Are you not pleased with Hare's Answer to Magee? I think it excellent."

An extract from another letter written by Hare, gives an example of his mode of dealing with theological questions. "I am sorry to hear that any of our brethren scruple to speak of purchased grace and glory. I. It strikes me as a Socinian refinement. II. The general tenor of the New Testament warrants our use of the term. Jesus Christ has regained for us what we have forfeited, and has regained it by what the Scriptures call 'a price.' III. The 'kinsman,' under the Old Testament, to whom belonged the 'right of redemption,' redeemed not only the debtor, but his paternal inheritance. These things were 'a shadow of good things to come,' of which 'the body is Christ.' IV. (1.) There is no proof that Ephesians, i., 14, means the Church. (2.) The apostle speaks there not of any thing to be possessed by Christ, but throughout of what is, or is to be, possessed by us. (3.) There appears to be something in the hypothesis which spoils the argument; for what meaning is there in my holding the earnest until another obtains the entire possession? (4.) The 'earnest' is 'the Spirit of promise,' that is, the Spirit promised, not to the saints in Paradise, who wait for the redemption of the whole Church, but to the believers on earth, who wait for the inheritance. (5.) The purchased possession (that which is purchased, and which we wait to possess) is then, I think, the inheritance itself. (6.) This inheritance, therefore, in the sense of the Scripture metaphor, is purchased, that is, obtained by virtue of the death of Christ. (Verse iii., connected by the intervening verses with verse vii.) If this be the sense of the expression in this passage, the objection that the same language is not found elsewhere is of no force. I only show you how I would begin to think on this subject."

Mr. Newton writes:

"Holmfirth, March 7th, 1811.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is very much the wish of the people here, as well as of myself, that you would come over to open our new chapel on the 17th of April, *i. e.*, the Wednesday in Easter week. Do come if you possibly can, and give us a



fair specimen of Methodism. I never was in a circuit where the week-night congregations were any thing like so large as in this. Last Sunday night I went to a new place, just at the foot of one of our huge mountains; the house was soon crowded, while great numbers were calling aloud for admission. I desired my colleague, who was present, to go and ask permission to preach in the adjoining house; he did so, and had the room, though large, filled in a few minutes; so that we both preached at the same hour, under the same roof, to two distinct congregations. I hear great things of your amphitheatre chapel in Liverpool. A man will need strong lungs to blow his words from one end of it to the other. In Bradford and in Keighley they are building chapels nearly as large as the Carver Street Chapel in Sheffield. To what will Methodism come in a few years?"

To Mr. Grindrod, then stationed in Bradford, my father writes on the 6th of April, 1811: "It wants but a few minutes of post-time, and I have leisure only to beg that you will, by return of post, tell me frankly, and without disguise, whether it is with the full and hearty concurrence of Mr. Sutcliffe and of the other preachers, that I have been desired to assist in opening your chapel. Some circumstances make me suspicious that all is not right in this business, and, till I hear from you, I can not answer Mr. Fawcett's second obliging letter. I charge you, as my friend, tell me the whole truth, as I would on no account engage in such a work unless the preachers really and earnestly desired it. It is a work in which I could not take any personal pleasure." My father's suspicions were correct. The trustees of the chapel in question were in open collision with the superintendent and the society as to the mode in which the Deed of Settlement should be framed. In this case Grindrod fought the first of many battles for Methodism with great courage and prudence, and with an utter disregard of personal consequences. Ultimately my father wrote to Mr. Fawcett, one of the trustees, and for whom he afterward formed a high respect, in the following terms:

"Liverpool, April 10th, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,—A friend from Manchester informed me a few days ago of some very unpleasant circumstances which have

occurred respecting the Bradford Chapel. Were there no other difficulties in the way, these circumstances alone make it my clear and indispensable duty to decline complying with your request to assist Dr. Coke in opening your chapel."

Not long afterward my father wrote, peremptorily declining an invitation to the Bradford Circuit.

It is not improbable that this case at Bradford was one of the incidents which induced my father to consider well, and to settle for his own guidance, the grave connectional question as to the influence over the management of ecclesiastical affairs which might be legitimately exercised by bodies of trustees. During the lifetime of Mr. Wesley, and while his power was unlimited, this influence was the only rival of his own, and when he died it became the rival also of the Conference, as that assembly, of necessity and by consent, assumed the duties which he had discharged. The successive agitations which followed his decease threw great weight into the scale of the Conference, for the internal modifications of the system in which they resulted were effected mainly at the instance of the people at large, and vested officers strictly belonging to the societies, and therefore under the regulation and control of the Conference, with large functions and authorities. Still, no very speedy and sensible alteration took place in the general conduct of affairs. In many cases, trustees themselves were the principal officers of the societies; in others, those who held office, as stewards and leaders, did not care to act as such, but permitted old practices to continue. An instance of this, as to Leeds, had occurred in my father's history. The trustees, and not the Quarterly meeting of ministers, stewards, and leaders, were the persons who invited my father to labor in that circuit. Against a similar usage, which prevailed at Hull, Hare was, I believe, the first to make a quiet but successful stand. My father's experience in London, and his observation of what passed during this period in other places, led him anxiously to promote the new connectional policy, which made the ministers on the one hand, and the officers of the society on the other, independent of the undue influence of trustees. It was plain that these were merely the legal guardians of property, and ought to deal with it with exclusive reference and in constant

subordination to the great general object for which it had been acquired, namely, the welfare of the particular society, and of the whole body of the Methodists of which it was a part. Any course of proceeding which contravened this principle was entirely repugnant to my father's views. He held that all rights were duties under another name; and whenever an attempt was made to violate rule, he always steadily resisted it. It was not that a small portion of the machinery was broken or deranged, but that, in consequence, the whole might be dislocated and destroyed. Time rolled on, however, and experience increased; and my father's keen eye foresaw that a polity which gives substantial power to almost every man who does a substantial service for the Church, needed vigilance in another direction. Neither ability for doing particular kinds of good, nor activity in doing them, necessarily implies such a degree of interest in the general work of the Church, much less such a degree of wisdom, prudence, and self-control as qualifies men to take an absorbing share in its government; and, if persons were to be found possessing these qualities, it was desirable that their services should be enlisted, even though they did not fill any public position distinctly religious. In these circumstances, trustees, whose exclusive influence was greatly to be deprecated, became, when united with others, a most valuable resource. Not necessarily leaders, or local preachers, or otherwise officially engaged in spiritual duties, they were, if private members of the society, the fittest representatives of the body of the people. None had made greater sacrifices of money, time, and continuous exertion; none had undertaken greater burdens; and so none had more fully pledged themselves to a thorough and life-long adherence to the established order of things. Very gradually, therefore, but with a very decided purpose, my father promoted the measures which gave to trustees, possessing the qualification of membership, a legitimate share in the administration of the affairs of the society. I believe that in 1852, when he had, to a great extent, retired from public life, he approved more heartily of the changes which secured this object than of any others then made. They recognized the principle that all the talents of all the members of the Church are to be employed for its advantage, and so were popular without being democratic, and not only safe, but

salutary. These remarks will not commend themselves to those who discover in the New Testament a well-defined platform of Church government, much less to any who are in the habit of pleading the analogy of the British Constitution in favor of ecclesiastical democracies. They are written with a different purpose. The leader of the Methodists during the last forty years was no lover of priestcraft, neither did he favor the craft of any order of the laity. Let the gifts which qualify for usefulness in the management of Church affairs be sought wherever they are to be found, and systematically turned to good account. In our day, as when St. Paul instructed the Corinthian Church, gifts vary, in order that various works may be done; and, as the Methodists believe, neither are the particular gifts of which I have been speaking confined to one class, nor common to all of any class.

It was in the spring of this year that Lord Sidmouth's interference with the question of religious toleration excited the determined opposition of all sects of Nonconformists. The Methodists took their full share in the agitation, though circumstances did not favor the full and clear avowal, on their part, of the principles which they almost unanimously held. Both Dr. Clarke and Dr. Coke were then in London; and their age and reputation, and the access which both of them, and especially the latter, had obtained to persons of political influence, necessarily placed them at the head of the movement. They procured an interview with Lord Sidmouth; and, though he did not talk them over to his opinions, he convinced them of the goodness of his intentions, and they did what they could to allay apprehension and to diminish the force of the resistance. Fortunately, they were not successful. Mr. Barber was not a man to be misled on any question of abstract justice, or to be diverted from dealing with it by any motives of temporary expediency. Thomas Thompson too, then a member of the Legislature, was a local preacher, as was also Thomas Allan, to whose name and profession I have before adverted;\* and the proposed measure not only threatened the general interests of the connection, but seriously impinged upon the rights of their particular order. These gentlemen, together with Mr. Butterworth, who in this solitary instance swerved from his allegiance

\* See page 209.



to his brother-in-law, Dr. Clarke, carried through the "Committee of Privileges" a series of resolutions against the bill. A vigorous opposition was organized, and was at its full height, when Lord Sidmouth, Lord Eldon himself concurring, consented that the bill should be read that day six months. The ministers of the Manchester District received the summons to action while they were assembled at their annual District meeting. After a discussion of the question, my father embodied the result in a document which I give at length. The hand of Dr. Percival's pupil may be distinctly seen in it; but it is guided by experience, and by a prevailing regard to the special interests which it strove to aid. I consider the paper to be an admirable specimen of the characteristic qualities of the writer.

"At a Meeting of the Regular Methodist Ministers in the Connection of the late Rev. JOHN WESLEY, stationed at present in the Manchester District, and assembled at Liverpool on Thursday, May 23, 1811, it was unanimously resolved,

"I. That liberty of conscience, comprehending the freedom of public assemblies for religious worship and instruction in such forms and under such teachers as men shall for themselves approve, is the inalienable right of all men, and that in the peaceable exercise of this right, as well as of the farther right of peaceably communicating their own religious views and opinions to all who are willing to hear them, they are not justly amenable to the authority of the civil magistrate.

"II. That we consider these rights as having been solemnly recognized and legally secured to British subjects by the letter and spirit of the statute commonly called the Toleration Act; a statute to which tens of thousands have long looked with gratitude, and which is, in our opinion, a most essential part, and one of the strongest bulwarks of our glorious Constitution, as established by law at the period of the Revolution of 1688.

"III. That the facilities which have been thus afforded for religious worship and instruction have powerfully contributed to the improvement of public morals, and to the promotion of industry, subordination, and loyalty among the middle and inferior orders of the community; and that to this high degree of religious liberty, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the preservation of this happy country from the horrors of that revolutionary phrensy which has so awfully desolated the nations of the Continent is principally to be ascribed.

“IV. That our confidence in the continuance of those rights, which are legally secured to us as our constitutional birthright by the Act of Toleration, has been greatly confirmed by the repeated declarations of all our monarchs, from the time of William the Third, in favor of religious liberty; and especially by the ever-memorable assurance of our present venerable and beloved sovereign in his first speech from the throne, that it was his ‘invariable resolution TO MAINTAIN THE TOLERATION INVIO-LATE;’ and that ‘the religious rights of his subjects were equally dear to him with the most valuable prerogatives of his crown;’ an assurance with which his majesty’s conduct toward us has hitherto uniformly accorded.

“V. That we view with the greatest alarm and concern a bill which has been lately introduced into the House of Lords by a nobleman whose general character we highly respect, which bill we consider as tending to restrict and diminish those long-established privileges which are specified in the foregoing resolutions.

“VI. That the said bill, if passed into a law, will materially abridge the unquestionable right of British subjects to judge and decide for themselves concerning the competency of those religious teachers whom they conscientiously prefer, and therefore voluntarily support; that it will be a grievous hardship upon the *regular itinerant ministers* of our connection (who, though not *permanently* appointed to *separate* congregations, are yet wholly devoted to the Christian ministry), by depriving them of those exemptions, not merely from pains and penalties, but also from military and other secular duties, which, on the ground of the public utility to be derived from their labors, the law, as it now stands, has wisely granted to persons who are constantly and exclusively employed in the work of religious instruction; that it will render it very difficult and expensive, and in many cases altogether impracticable, to obtain legal protection for the numerous body of our *occasional preachers and exhorters*, who not only form a very useful part of our society, but whose services are essentially necessary as local auxiliaries to the regular itinerant ministers, in order to supply the various chapels and meeting-houses in which our congregations assemble for Divine worship; that it will be a serious violation of that confidence which has been reposed in

the laws of their country by the trustees of our numerous chapels, who have expended large sums of money, and signed securities to a very considerable amount on account of the said chapels, *on the faith of the Act of Toleration*, and with the fullest reliance that our present system, as allowed by that act, would remain undisturbed; that it will open new sources of litigation, and furnish to the ill-disposed the occasion and the means of obstructing and oppressing their peaceable fellow-subjects by capricious examinations and vexatious delays; and that, by establishing a principle of interference in matters of conscience, it may become a *precedent* for future and fatal experiments against our religious liberties.

“VII. That the restrictions proposed in the said bill are as unnecessary as they would be injurious, because the instances of abuse on which they are professedly grounded have been few in number; because the recurrence of such abuse has been, in part, already prevented by some recent legislative enactments; and because the Methodists in particular have explicitly prohibited (by a regulation which they voluntarily adopted in the year 1803) the application of licenses, procured under the Act of Toleration, to the purpose of obtaining exemption from military or parochial duties by any persons in connection with them who are not wholly employed in the Christian ministry.

“VIII. That the proposed bill is, in our judgment, radically objectionable, being, as it seems to us, erroneous in its principle, unconstitutional in its spirit, and certainly calamitous, if passed, in its operation; that no modification of it can reconcile us to its adoption; that, as religious rights are justly deemed by a very great body of the people of England to be their *best* and *dearest* rights, to which they are most tremblingly alive, the probable consequences of any measure by which those rights appear to be infringed are at this eventful period most earnestly to be deprecated.

“IX. That we heartily approve of the intention which is generally entertained by our societies, congregations, and friends throughout this district to prepare immediate petitions to the Legislature against the bill now pending.

“X. That we cherish the highest confidence in the wisdom and justice of Parliament as to the success of our petitions against so obnoxious a measure; but that, should our expecta-

tions be unhappily disappointed, we shall esteem it to be our indispensable duty to appeal, for the protection of our rights in the last instance, to the liberal principles and legal prerogatives of his royal highness the prince regent, encouraged by his gracious declaration that it is his resolution to 'deliver up the *Constitution* unaltered' (and consequently the *Toleration inviolate*) 'to his royal father,' and fully persuaded that this illustrious prince will never sanction a system of restriction so marked by innovation, so contrary to the tolerant spirit of his majesty, and so productive of dissatisfaction and distress to no inconsiderable proportion of his most loyal and most faithful subjects.

"XI. That these resolutions be printed and extensively circulated; and that copies be respectfully transmitted to the deputies in London appointed to guard the civil rights of the Dissenters, to the committee of Protestant Dissenters appointed at the meeting lately held at the London Tavern, and to the Protestant Dissenting ministers in this county and its vicinity.

"XII. That a subscription be immediately opened, or collections made in every circuit of this district to defray the expenses of carrying these resolutions into effect."

There are some respects in which it is interesting to compare these resolutions with those which issued from the connectional authorities in the metropolis. While the committee there abstained "from all observations on the abstract rights of conscience," and complained simply of the jeopardy to which their own community was exposed, my father knew, and was careful to declare, that all denominations of Nonconformists must, as to toleration, stand or fall together. The committee, too, while recognizing distinctly the "regular preachers who are wholly devoted to the functions of their office," refrained from adopting the clear phraseology as to local preachers which my father, in dealing with definitions for the guidance of the Legislature, thought it indispensable to use. I do not think that in this or in any other case he sacrificed to truth and duty the respect and affection which he bore to that important body. It is curious to observe, also, how he declines to commit himself to the assertion of the committee, that "a large proportion of our societies" considered "themselves members of the Established Church," and to the opinion that no legislative explanation of



the existing laws of toleration was necessary. He differs from them, moreover, in their declaration that "not a shadow of a charge is brought against our very numerous body." His argument is that the "instances of abuse" "had been few in number;" that "their recurrence" had been, "in part, already prevented" by Parliament; and that the Methodists themselves had, by internal regulation, sufficiently provided for the case.

The events just narrated were connected with an incident which forms an important epoch in my father's history.

"While this matter was pending," writes Mr. Jackson,\* "they," Jabez Bunting and RICHARD WATSON, "had both been preaching in Stockport one Sunday, and met on their way to Manchester in the evening, when Lord Sidmouth's Bill became the principal subject of conversation. They acknowledged that, if this bill were to pass into a law, it would be ruinous to the Methodists, whose ministry is itinerant, and that it would be very injurious in its operation upon the Dissenters generally. The meeting of these two eminent men appeared to be casual, but subsequent events proved it to be one of those Providential arrangements which forcibly impress every devout and observant mind. Their interview led to a pure and lasting friendship, from which great advantage was derived both to themselves and to the cause of religion. Little did they then imagine that, in future years, they should be successfully associated together in plans of extensive usefulness, and especially in the furtherance of the missionary cause. At Mr. Bunting's request, Mr. Watson wrote an able and stirring letter, which appeared in the 'Manchester Exchange Herald' of May 23d, 1811, on the subject of Lord Sidmouth's Bill. At that time the Dissenters were not duly alive to the evils with which this measure was fraught, and a strong statement of the case was deemed necessary to rouse their opposition."

Richard Watson's biographer has not too highly estimated the advantages which resulted from this new intimacy. Each friend found in the other what neither had found before, and that in connection with habits of inquiry and of thought which had led to an almost perfect identity of theological opinion, and with a kindred spirit of evangelical enterprise.

\* "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Richard Watson," p. 102, 103.

Nearly a generation has passed away since Richard Watson, in the very prime of his strength, finished a course of honor and of usefulness peculiarly his own, and which none who knew him ever aspired to emulate. In many cases we hold converse with the illustrious dead by means which they themselves have furnished to posterity, or by narratives which, to general ability of treatment, and to minuteness of significant detail, have added the charm of sympathy with the departed, and the power to awaken and diffuse it. But neither his own published works, nor the funeral discourse delivered by my father, nor even Mr. Jackson's comprehensive Memoir, convey to the reader unfamiliar with Watson an adequate conception of the majesty of his person, demeanor, speech, and entire intellectual and moral character. It would be difficult to describe him either by comparison or contrast with other great men of his own time and profession. If recourse be had to other Churches (and no name can be dishonored by the mention of it in this connection), it must be admitted that he lacked much of the fire, force, and fullness of Thomas Chalmers; of the rhetorical art and finish of Robert Hall; and of the sagacity and penetration which distinguish the writings of John Foster; but his genius soared as high as that of the great Scotchman, and with a steadier wing; he had more of profundity and breadth of thought than the eloquent Baptist at Leicester; and with his pulpit exercises was mingled a strain of solemn and often pensive sentiment, reminding one of the essayist's best compositions, when he dealt with topics which neither roused his anger, nor provoked his irony, nor probed the sullen depths of his desponding nature. Thus far I have spoken of Watson as a preacher. As a man of various power, probably neither of the Baptists was his equal. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that in the case of neither of these did circumstances make a demand upon latent faculties equal to that which tasked the industry and efforts of the Methodist. Not to specify other particulars, both Hall and Foster acquired an early reputation as writers; an irreparable calamity in most cases, a misfortune in all. Quotations are more frequent from the sermon which Hall first published than from any of his other discourses; and the interest which will always be felt in Foster centres in him chiefly as the author of the

Essays. To Chalmers, Watson's most enthusiastic admirers must readily concede the palm. Yet in this case, also, circumstances must be well weighed. It was nature that endowed Chalmers with that rare union of subtlety with strength of intellect, and of both with practical wisdom; with his suggestive imagination and intense energy, and with the boundless charities of his magnanimous spirit. But what a training did he receive, not so much from the education common to the clergy of his native land as from the great events of his individual history; from his "new birth" into religious consciousness and life, at an age when the characters of most men have been formed forever; from the felt responsibility of an unprecedented and suddenly-acquired influence in the councils of a popular Church, and over the fortunes of an intelligent nation; and, in the crisis of his career, from the strain made upon his concentrated abilities when he argued with statesmen and defied Parliaments, and made law itself quake and mumble as he stood present to listen to its utterances, all the while wielding majorities who lost their all so surely as they followed his lead; combating with stolid or ingenious ecclesiastics; and, as these duties found scarce and scanty interval, putting forth his hand to sway the wills and passions of vast multitudes of men bristling with impatient zeal for their religion: he just as able to control a crowd as to expose the fallacies of a cabinet or to convince a synod of divines!

Three men of our own denomination have, during the first half of the present century, stood conspicuously above the rest of their brethren. Robert Newton's renown rests upon qualities which do not fairly bring him within the range of comparison with the other two. He stood alone—the prince of Methodist preachers to the common people. Nor between Jabez Bunting and Richard Watson must the points of resemblance or of contrast be defined too rigorously, nor with any other view than to assign to each his more distinguishing excellences, and to glorify God in both. The former had at his command a greater variety and extent of information, and was surpassed by no man in clearness and promptitude of conception; in precision and luminousness of definition and of statement; in force, dexterity, and exhaustiveness of argument; in sweeping energy and boldness of appeal; and, above all, in

that towering strength of will which, combined with the qualities just specified, creates the capacity for the management of men and for the conduct of affairs. But Watson trod daily, with stately yet familiar air, the highest walks of truth, and not seldom presumed into the "heaven of heavens" itself, and breathed "empyreal air;" so that he often spake rather as one haunted by the memories of things which he had heard, but which it was "not lawful" for him to utter, than as one yet "in the body." In council he pronounced—and that, generally, with great wisdom—much oftener than he attempted to discuss; nor was it always obvious whether he conveyed the results of a judgment exercised and matured by close study of the question, or prompted by the necessities of the occasion only. His heart was full of sympathies, but perhaps they were with ideas and with things rather than with men; for his was a proud spirit, and had been bruised at a time when it could hardly bear any touch but that of Him who made it. Yet how vivid is the recollection of that lip, now curling with scorn, and now quickly composed into placidity, and now relaxing into a heavenly smile! There were times when ill health and the indulgence of a desperate avidity for medicine told their tale in alternate reserve and impatience, but never to the poor or to the consciously feeble-minded. Every body wondered at him; and, if but few could get near enough to love him, some came within the circle, and felt how pleasant it was to surrender themselves to that strange fascination which invests the most trifling particulars of the character and habits of men truly great with an almost absorbing interest. So they used to watch him bore holes into his hats and shoes to let the air in; and to wait, when he spoke, to catch his very few provincialisms of pronunciation; and to try to hear his casual talk with circuit stewards when they called upon him in a fuss, or with frightened local preachers as they walked home with him after service in country places. But his end! How did the creature and the sinner humble himself in the sight of the holy God, yet the saint "take hold of" the "strength" of the "faithful Creator," and rejoice in an assured and everlasting peace with Him! *Shall* we ever "see his like again?" God knoweth! There are survivors who still, in not unfrequent dreams, see him in the pulpit, or walking in the streets, or stretching his



long limbs, half sitting and half recumbent, in his chair by the fireside; and when they wake, it is to reflect that, if his short but splendid career has found no parallel, perhaps none has been needed; and to pray that the gifts still continued to the Church may be improved as his were, and consecrated with his simplicity and intensity of purpose to the honor of the Savior and to the welfare of mankind.

My father writes to Mr. Grindrod on the 30th of May, 1811: "I have now to thank you for several very kind and welcome letters, and to entreat your pardon for my seeming inattention to them. I never was so fully and extraordinarily occupied as I have been this year, partly by unusual public avocations, partly by the frequent illness of our children, and partly by the severe and protracted affliction of my mother. Another year I hope to enjoy comparative retirement, and consequently to have more leisure for friendly correspondence. It is doubtful where my lot will be cast. Bradford and Bristol I have declined. Wakefield, too, is rather farther from Manchester than I wish to go while my mother lives, which it now seems probable that she may do for at least some months longer. Mr. Bartholomew, I hear, desires Huddersfield, and, from his character and circumstances, he has a right to be indulged. The only alternative seems at present to be Halifax or Prescott, to either of which I have no objection. I have had a letter from Mr. Ashforth, which removes all difficulty about Sunday work, so that, unless Mr. Cooper urges his prior claim, Halifax is my most probable destination. I am not anxious. The Lord will direct. It is now time to give you such intelligence as I chance to possess. Our District meeting was held last week. The most interesting topic of discussion was the conduct to be pursued respecting Lord Sidmouth's Bill. Our views on that subject you will learn from the printed resolutions, of which I sent you a copy on Saturday. Those resolutions, with a copious abstract of the debate, have just been published in a pamphlet. Many friends, we thought, would be glad to have some permanent memorial of this interesting struggle: and the profits of the sale will defray our local expenses on the occasion. Mr. Gaulter goes to the Stationing Committee; and we request that Mr. Taylor, having traveled fifty years, may also attend. We wish the frequency of love-feasts in country

places, and the practice of some local preachers who administer the two sacraments, to be considered by Conference. We wish no preacher to be received on trial who has not passed through the regular meetings. We propose that all the preachers, when admitted into full connection, shall be solemnly ordained by imposition of hands."

"I thank you for your resolutions," writes Mr. Hare, "on Lord Sidmouth's Bill. When we are calm, we shall perceive that some conditions may reasonably be required by a government which grants exemptions to ministers dissenting from the Establishment. But what those conditions should be I do not exactly perceive, nor is it for us to suggest."

Reference has been already made to a discussion about the placing of an organ in one of the chapels in the Liverpool Circuit. This discussion was renewed with much eagerness during the last few months of my father's residence there. A new chapel was in the course of erection, into which many persons wished to introduce not only an organ, but the use of the Sunday morning service of the Church of England. Both were innovations at Liverpool, though organs had been permitted in a few cases elsewhere, and though the reading of the service, either in full or in an abridged form, always sanctioned by Mr. Wesley when service was performed in our chapels in England during Church hours, was the subject of a strong recommendation by the Conference in one of the Articles of the Plan of Pacification.

It can scarcely be alleged that my father approached, free from all previous bias, the subject of the employment of instrumental music in Christian worship. He had no ear for music; and it has been seen how he denounced the "abominations" which had crept into some of our sanctuaries, where a variety of instruments was used. To such an extent had this evil grown in some cases, that the enjoined exercises of intelligent and spiritual praise gave place to an elaborate musical performance; and this unseemly violation of the decency and good order of the house of God became the most prominent and often the best-esteemed portion of its engagements. Where this extreme had not yet been reached, good taste and devotion were often not less shocked by the reveries of a player upon a single instrument, generally a bass-viol; which, behind

the back of the preacher in the pulpit, or boldly confronting him, looked quite as important as himself, and seemed to claim an equal right to conduct the service. Many a contest, and, I grieve to say, many a parley, did the Conference hold with this strange intruder, now challenging and then conceding his pretensions; until, at last—for it would not do for a Conference to fight a fiddle—he obtained a passive toleration, and, Sabbath after Sabbath, kept wild and wanton carnival.

My father never liked him; but what was to be done? It was not the mind of either John Wesley or of his connection, that the use of instrumental music for religious purposes was absolutely unlawful, or always inexpedient. And thus, often, the choice lay between an abomination or a nuisance on the one hand, and on the other the authorized use of one instrument, consecrated by ancient ecclesiastical usage and association, and by a certain obvious appropriateness to the worship of the Christian sanctuary. My father preferred the latter alternative. But, as to things which he held to be indifferent, the law of peace prevailed over all other considerations; and his first inquiry uniformly was whether permanent unity would be promoted or endangered by a change.

Upon the subject of the liturgy, he laid claim to an absolute impartiality. When he first engaged in the ministry, the novelty of reading the Morning Prayers was for a while somewhat distasteful to him; but practice overcame this reluctance, and his experience in Methodism ultimately made him a decided friend to the general use of them.

His opinions must not be mistaken. On the abstract question, perhaps, they agreed with those held by Presbyterian authorities. With them—I quote from Dr. John G. Lorimer's edition of Dr. Miller's "Manual of Presbytery"—he did "not consider the use of forms of prayer as in all cases unlawful," but he did "object to being confined to forms of prayer." He went farther than this, however; for he thought that, where a congregation could be induced to concur in a mode of worship which united the advantages of a Liturgy and of extemporaneous address to God, the case of the people and the general purposes of worship would be better served than by an adherence to one of those plans only. When, therefore, the Liturgy was used in the earlier service of the Sabbath, though not even then

to the exclusion of free prayer, while extemporaneous exercises only were adopted at later services, his views and wishes were fully met.

One recommendation of a Liturgy to his judgment was the obligation it imposes upon the body of the congregation to join manifestly and audibly in public worship, thus abolishing all idea that the minister sustained to them any priestly office or relation, and placing him and them in acts of prayer and praise on one common level before God. Frequent neglect of duty on the part of the people, and occasional slovenliness on the part of the minister, did not affect the question. The former was generally the consequence of the latter, and this might be remedied by the diffusion of more correct views, and by the prevalence of a higher tone of religious feeling.

The general principle being settled, no doubt existed as to the particular form to be adopted. Whatever objections may be raised, and however grave, to some other offices of the Church of England, its "Order for Morning Prayer" has commended itself to the judgment and piety of most classes of Christians. Its earnest exhortations to repentance; its acts of penitence and faith; its formal offer of the "great salvation;" its solemn songs of praise, generally in words "which the Holy Ghost teacheth;" but sometimes, and not unfitly, in language sanctified by ancient piety and genius; its orderly exhibition of the unadulterated truths of Scripture; its simple creed; its humble petitions—each heart that knows its own bitterness finding vent in the common cry of a sinning and suffering race; its frequent use of the Lord's own form of prayer—for He only knew what was in man, and could help him to tell it to His Father and our Father, to His God and our God; its catholic intercessions; its devout thanksgivings; its mutual benedictions\*—these form the staple of the devotion of the English

\* "Though the practice would ill accord with our conventional manners," says Dr. Guthrie, in his recently-published volume of Discourses, "that have often more of art than of nature, I think, considering the day, the place, the purpose of the assembly, it were a beautiful and appropriate thing when minister and people meet in the house of God, to meet after the manner of Boaz and his people; the minister, on appearing in the pulpit, saying, The Lord be with you; and the people responding, The Lord bless thee." The generous heart and unrivaled genius of my honored Presbyterian friend have led him to pay an undesigned tribute to one excellency in the forms of the



people, wherever they worship, and by whatever name. It matters not where the observer of national predilections may chance to go—to the cathedral or the minster, at some high festival, when deans keep drowsy state, sometimes with a certain air of rubrical pedantry, not always without an unseemly imitation of the odious rites of popery; or to quaint and quiet country churches; or to huge, unsightly buildings in large towns, to which nothing but a conscientious preference of the Established religion could attract so many worshipers; or to square “tabernacles;” or to modern “meeting-houses,” furnished like some smart citizen’s drawing-room; or to Methodist chapels, plainer or more ornate; or to village barns, to which rude piety repairs to pray—on all the spell of the old familiar service lies, often with an unrecognized potency; now “said or sung” after the strictest pattern of ecclesiastical propriety; now murmured by the few uncouth peasants of a hamlet; now quoted largely, and with kindling fervor, by the white-haired pastor of a flock of Nonconformists; now read, with more voice and gesture than elsewhere, by a godly Methodist preacher, or wrought into his own unfettered devotions; and now importunately raised to heaven, incoherently it may be, and in detached sentences, as memory can command their use, by the voice of some poor sinner who sues for a present and a conscious pardon in an obscure gathering for prayer and fellowship.

But my father always and strongly discountenanced any attempt to enforce the use of even this form, however advantageous, upon Methodist congregations. When any large proportion of a congregation, deprived of what it considered a privilege, was eager to obtain it, it was his practice to recommend them to wait until the erection of some new chapel might enable them to gratify their desire, without introducing an innovation, and arousing the spirit of strife. In no one case during his ministry did he depart from this course. On the other

English Church. If it had been present to his recollection, he would readily have commended it. Not, indeed, at the commencement of the service, but before minister and people lift their voices in consecutive prayer to God, they breathe a blessing on each other. How “good and pleasant” is this “unity!” “The Lord be with you!” says the minister; and the echo falls sweetly on his ear, “And with thy Spirit!”

hand, he thought little of the foresight and good sense of those who discountenanced or dismissed such forms when once they had met with general acceptance. Yet here also he submitted himself to the law of peace.

The question of the Liverpool organs was discussed at the Conference of 1811. My father distinguished himself greatly in the debate. The case of the new chapel presented an appropriate sphere for the operation of his general principle; and, in the case of the existing chapel in Pitt Street, it was his opinion, founded on personal observation, and amply justified by subsequent facts, that the objectors to the organ would gladly submit themselves to the decision of the Conference, should it prove adverse to their wishes. The Conference sanctioned the introduction of both organs, and no mischief followed.

Mr. Entwisle, the superintendent, to whom the local discussions caused no little anxiety, consulted Dr. Clarke previously to the Conference. He denounced the organs, but gave an emphatic testimony as to the use of the Liturgy. "With respect," he says, "to the introduction of the Liturgy of the Church of England, this book I reverence next to the book of God. Next to the Bible, it has been the depository of the pure religion of Christ; and, had it not been laid up there, and established by acts of Parliament, I fear that religion would, long ere this, have been driven to the wilderness. Most devoutly do I wish that, whenever we have service on the forenoon of the Lord's day, we may have the prayers read. This service contains that form of sound words to which, in succeeding ages, an appeal may be successfully made for the establishment of the truth professed by preceding generations. Had it not been, under God, for this blessed book, the Liturgy of the English Church, I verily believe Methodism had never existed. I see plainly that, where we read these prayers, our congregations become better settled, better edified, and put farther out of the reach of false doctrine. Introduce the Church service in God's name; not in any *abridgment*, but in the genuine original. Give my love to the blessed people in Liverpool, and tell them that this is the conscientious advice of their old servant and most hearty well-wisher."

Of the Conference held at Sheffield in 1811, Charles Atmore, a man of popular talents, recommended by a pleasant delivery,

and by some polish of diction and demeanor, was appointed president. His "Methodist Memorial," a record of the lives of the earliest preachers in the connection, is evidence of his lively interest in it, and contains much interesting and instructive matter. Copious notices of him are to be found in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1845. The legislation of the session was not unimportant. The labors of local preachers were placed more directly under the control of the superintendent, and both they and probationers for the ministry were more strictly restrained from administering either of the sacraments. It was directed, also, that the superintendent should inquire, at least twice a year, into the moral character and official diligence of all the class-leaders, a regulation which, I fear, is considered obsolete; but which, as enforced by John Barber in the Bristol Circuit about four years afterward, resulted in great benefits to the societies in that city.

But, above all, during this Conference a principle was established, to which I have repeatedly adverted, and the adoption of which must be attributed mainly, if not exclusively, to my father's patient and judicious exertions. It had become necessary to acquire a second school for the education of ministers' sons. Yorkshire was selected as the most favorable situation. It was the largest pecuniary enterprise in which the Conference had ever engaged. Yorkshire Methodists were sensible, hearty and liberal, and it was obvious that their services in the management of this secular concern might be turned to good account. So six gentlemen of that county were placed upon the committee "appointed to superintend the fitting up and furnishing of the academy, and to prepare it for the purposes of education." I believe no opposition was offered to this important measure. All that Dr. Clarke had to say, as he left the platform of the Conference ere its close, was to beg that not a single tree on the estate about to be purchased might be cut down. Wise men sometimes concern themselves greatly about trifles, while revolutions pass unobservedly before their eyes.





## APPENDIX.

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A, page 34.

*A Translation of a Poem on Nothing, from the Latin of John Pas-  
scrat, Regius Professor in the University of Paris.*

Now on this festive day the new-born year  
Its sceptre o'er the world begins to rear.  
Their wonted gifts the Kalends now demand,  
But ask in vain from my impoverish'd hand.  
Hath, then, the Muses' stream forgot to flow?  
Is the Castalian spring at last so low,  
That this glad morn can no salute obtain,  
Nor meet a welcome from the poet's pen?  
Rather my muse, through paths unknown before,  
What nowhere is shall labor to explore;  
And, while she searches all her hidden stores,  
And o'er the treasures of fair Fancy pores,  
Lo! she finds NOTHING; and she joys to find  
A theme to dire oblivion long consigned.  
Nor be my new-discovered gift despised,  
Or, as a worthless present, meanly prized;  
For NOTHING can outshine the brightest gems;  
NOTHING than gold still higher value claims.  
Then to this song attend; with favor hear;  
For with this gift the Muses hail the year.  
I sing what all the ancient bards forgot—  
A subject new, which 'scaped their deepest thought.  
For all things else Achaia's sons have told,  
And Rome's famed offspring labored to unfold.  
Yet NOTHING has remained till now unsung  
Or by Ausonian or by Grecian tongue.  
Through every clime which Ceres views from high  
Beneath the surface of the spangled sky,  
Through every land which the wide waves embrace,  
This one great truth in all you well may trace:  
NOTHING exists without a cause or source,  
NOTHING forever will preserve its force;  
NOTHING is unexposed to Death's arrest;  
NOTHING with constant happiness is bless'd.

But, if to NOTHING majesty divine  
And godlike power we justly may assign,  
Render to NOTHING, then, ye sons of earth,  
Honors supreme, like His who gave you birth ;  
For NOTHING pleases more th' enraptured sight  
Than the gay Spring, or Sol's benignant light.  
NOTHING is fairer than the flowery fields,  
And than the western breeze more comfort yields.  
When raging Mars 'mid blood and tumult reigns,  
NOTHING inviolably safe remains.  
NOTHING in peace its every right obtains.  
NOTHING security by treaty gains.  
Who NOTHING has may safely rest at ease,  
And, spite of thieves or fire, remain in peace.  
His mind by suits at law is ne'er oppressed,  
Such anxious cares are strangers to his breast.  
He who, with Zeus, subjects his all to Fate,  
Which of its fixed decrees will ne'er abate,  
NOTHING, as wonderful and great admires,  
And, as a gift replete with bliss, desires.  
And to know NOTHING was the self-same good  
As the Socratic sect taught and pursued.  
Nor is that sect, indeed, still quite expired ;  
That is the knowledge now by most desired :  
Than this no study youth more highly prize :  
The veriest fools in this would fain be wise.  
Who NOTHING knows will soonest wealth obtain,  
And to the height of honors best attain.  
And, when the grave Pythagoras forbade  
His followers ever upon beans to feed,  
The sage, t' express the precept's large extent,  
And how minutely far th' injunction went,  
Used a like term with that, in times of yore,  
Which mighty NOTHING 'mong the Latins bore.  
Many by arts alchemic try to obtain  
The wished-for stone, through sordid hope of gain,  
Who, on the wond'rous secret quite intent,  
When, all in vain, their whole estates they've spent,  
At last, when toil and losses harass, then  
Find NOTHING, and, though found, still seek again.  
No measure yet, whate'er, did ever know  
The vast extent of NOTHING right to show ;  
And, if a man can number Afric's sands,  
NOTHING to him innumerable stands.

NOTHING escapes the sight and piercing ray  
Of splendid Phæbus, genial king of day ;  
For NOTHING a still higher station bears  
Than Phæbus' self, and higher than the stars.  
And you, O Memmius, though by all confess'd  
To be with an uncommon genius bless'd,  
Though all the depths of science you explore,  
And to know Wisdom's secrets nobly soar,  
E'en you, good sir, whom all a wonder deem,  
Still to be ignorant of NOTHING seem.  
Yet NOTHING shines more splendid than the suns,  
Or pure ethereal flame, or lucid moon.  
NOTHING, of substance and of color void,  
May still be touched, and by the eye descried.  
NOTHING, though deaf, can hear ; though dumb, can talk ;  
And, without wings and feet, can fly and walk.  
NOTHING can swim 'mid streams of liquid air,  
Although devoid of place and motion there.  
Mankind from NOTHING greater blessings draws  
Than wise Apollo's healing labors cause.  
Let no one, then, when pierced by Venus' darts,  
Try charms, or spells, or such like magic arts,  
Nor yet ascend the mountain grass to crop  
Which grows on Ida's highly favor'd top.  
NOTHING assistance and advantage gains  
From love's destructive wounds and cruel chains,  
And, e'en if Charon over Styx transports,  
NOTHING can still recall from Pluto's courts ;  
For NOTHING can o'er Pluto's heart prevail,  
And cause the fixed decrees of fate to fail.  
O'er Phlegra's plains, poor Tityus, destroyed,  
Now feels, when stripped of all his dear-bought pride,  
That to give wounds more fatal NOTHING knows  
Than Jove's dire thunders, urged against his foes.  
Beyond the bounds of this terrestrial sphere  
NOTHING extends. NOTHING the gods, too, fear.  
But why should I my theme so far exhaust ?  
Virtue herself by NOTHING is o'erpast.  
NOTHING, in short, is greater still than Jove,  
The king of men below, and gods above.  
But now 'tis time to stay my trifling muse,  
Lest, if she should continue so diffuse,  
My song on NOTHING, being NOTHING worth,  
Should only to deserved disgust give birth.

JABEZ BUNTING.

This poem from Passerat was translated in three school exercises : the first against Monday, the 9th of December, 1793, as far as the forty-sixth line inclusive ; the second against Tuesday, the 10th, from the forty-sixth to the eighty-second inclusive ; and the last against Monday, the 16th, from the eighty-second to the end.

J. B.

B, page 47.

*Mercantile Arguments against cleansing the Streets of Manchester.*

MR. PRINTER,—I have often been surprised to observe the supineness with which the extreme filth of the streets of Manchester has been so long endured. A nuisance so apparently disgraceful ; so offensive and disagreeable ; productive of so much inconvenience and trouble ; and, finally, so injurious to health and life, by laying the foundation of numerous and fatal diseases, would rouse, one should think, the most spirited exertions for its speedy removal. That such exertions have not been used, for an object which might so easily and cheaply be accomplished, can not be imputed to any want of zeal for the general good in a community eminent for its opulence and public spirit. And it would be unjust to charge a criminal inattention to salubrity upon the inhabitants of a town which has the honor to support several charitable institutions for the restoration of health, and in which a recent philanthropic association for the express purpose of preventing diseases has been liberally patronized under the title of a BOARD OF HEALTH.

But a motive has occurred to me which seems of sufficient magnitude to account for the patient sufferance of the evil above mentioned. In a commercial town, the interests of the different branches of trade ought assuredly to prevail over every other consideration ; and the following calculations will fully evince how much those interests are affected by the present miry state of our public streets.

Suppose the number of inhabitants to be 70,000, and that of this number 40,000 are persons whose business requires them frequently to walk the streets ; then it may be fairly maintained that the inconvenience, which has, in this paper, been pointed out, must annually benefit the several classes of tradesmen nearly in the proportions set down in the following table :

1. <i>Shoemakers</i> : from the extraordinary wear of 1 pair of shoes <i>per annum</i> , by 40,000 persons, at 6s. per pair, on an average.....	£12,000
2. <i>Ditto</i> : from the extraordinary demand for boots, half boots, clogs, and pattens.....	500
3. <i>Hosiery and Stocking-weavers</i> : from the extraordinary wear of two pair of stockings <i>per annum</i> , by 40,000 persons, at 3s. per pair, on an average.....	2,000



4. *Tailors*: from the sale of *gaiters*, of which we may allow at least 1000 extraordinary pairs, at 3s. each..... £150

5. *Clothiers, Mercers, Drapers, Tailors*, etc. : from the injury done to wearing apparel by splashing in winter and the augmented dust in summer, etc..... 1,000

6. *Apothecaries, Druggists, Nurses*, etc. : from the extraordinary applications for medicine and medical advice and attendance during sickness, in consequence of the insalubrity of the filth ..... 1,500

7. *Upholsterers, Brush-makers, Coopers*, etc., etc. : from the damage done to carpets and other furniture by dirt conveyed into houses, and from the increased consumption of brushes and other articles used in cleaning houses..... 1,000

8. *Soap-boilers and Washer-women* : from the large addition to the business of the wash-house in consequence of stockings and other apparel, especially that of females, necessarily dirtied by the mire..... 5,000

*N.B.*—The washing of stockings alone, reckoning an addition of 10,000 pairs, weekly, from the filth of the street, amounts, at 1d. per pair, to £2166 13s. 4d. *per annum*

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33,150\*

9. To the foregoing estimate should be added the annual expenditure of the country tradesmen, market-people, and occasional visitors, arising from the same cause, which might be justly rated at a sum nearly equal to that of the inhabitants, but must certainly greatly exceed one half, amounting, therefore, to 16,575

49,725

10. I can not omit to subjoin, as an important object of expenditure, though perhaps it may be considered as a deduction from the foregoing calculations of commercial benefits, the loss of labor by confinement from colds, consumptions, rheumatisms, and other disorders, contracted by standing and walking in the wet and miry streets..... 1,000

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£50,725†

It is an old and generally-received observation, that *a penny saved is a penny got*. But, in the present enlightened state of the world, we properly treat antiquated and vulgar maxims with contempt. Let us therefore, my fellow-citizens, cheerfully acquiesce in the weighty reasons here advanced, and generously persevere in wading through dirt and filth, since it appears that an expenditure of so many thousands *per annum* will be thereby produced, to the manifest encouragement of trade,

\* This sum total is wrong by just ten thousand pounds! So much for statistics!

† And this, therefore, by fifteen thousand pounds.

and to the great benefit of the poor manufacturers and others in these hard times.

J. B.

November 22d, 1796.

C, page 64.

*The Lawfulness of bearing Arms in defensive Warfare.*

1. The arguments which were stated in the papers read at our last meeting will warrant the assertion that, in case of emergency, every man who possibly can ought to come forward in any way whatever in which his services are most likely to be successful; trusting in the Providence of God to keep him from those spiritual dangers which attend this painful but necessary duty, and to give grace according to the day.

2. At present, however, it would seem that the danger does not appear to government to be of so imminent and pressing a nature as to call for an immediate and universal arming of the mass of the people. If this were the case, some plan would doubtless have been proposed which would render such a universal arming practicable. Till the executive government of the country deem it necessary to require the adoption of some such plan, I think religious persons in general are not particularly called upon to come forward in any way, much less in the way of joining battalions of regular soldiers or corps of volunteers.

3. If, however, the cause of religion is very likely to suffer any material injury from the refusal of a professor of religion to join our volunteer establishments, then I think he ought conscientiously and cheerfully to join them in the common defense, although some circumstances attending those establishments may be so unpleasant to a pious mind as to make him rather hold back than otherwise till the necessity of his arming should be more apparent.

Servants in particular, whose employers importune them to come forward, should not manifest any improper backwardness, lest the odium of disaffection should be cast on those who support a religious character.

When we do not rush into situations of spiritual danger rashly and unnecessarily, but are placed in them by Providence, we have a right to expect the peculiar blessing of God to preserve us in those situations; and if we continue to watch and pray, steadily resisting temptation, and keeping a single eye to God's glory, so that our zeal for our country's honor and happiness is not tainted and marred by any intermixture of improper motives and principles, the promise of preserving grace shall be "yea and amen" to us.

Will it be said that the defense of the country ought to be left to worldly and unregenerate men, and that men truly serious and religious should abstain from taking any part in the contest? Are they, in this sense, to "stand still and see the salvation of God," if indeed God means

to save us, or to see with equal indolence and unconcern, if ruin is to be our lot, the destruction of the freedom and independence of their country, the removal of their religious privileges, the violation of their persons and properties, and, at last, to receive, when the good-will and pleasure of some furious and licentious soldier shall think fit to inflict it, the fatal poniard that shall dismiss them from the stage of life? If this be Christian doctrine or Christian practice, well may infidels triumph. No Deist surely ever invented a more atrocious libel against the Gospel of Him who is "the Lion of the Tribe of Judah" as well as "the Prince of Peace." If revealed religion takes away that right of self-defense which the God of Nature has conferred, and which natural religion has sanctioned; if Christianity unmans mankind, and prohibits the fulfillment of the social duties; if the love of our country is inconsistent, according to the Bible scheme, with the love of God, then the Christian cause is lost. But we "have not so learned Christ." Infidels, indeed, have often urged this very objection to our religion; but, by an appeal to the oracles of our faith and to the practice of the faithful, it has been shown that the objection is ill founded.

No man has such strong and forcible motives as the real Christian to abound in every good word and work, whether to his friends, his country, or his fellow-creatures in general. Acting from conscientious considerations, and taking into his enlarged estimate a view of the injury which threatens the cause of God, he has grounds of resistance on which none but he can stand, and inducements to fortitude which none but he can feel. His sources of consolation, too, are greatest in the time of trial, and he is best prepared for every event.

D, page 64.

*How far is a person sanctified at the time he is justified?\**

In order that this question may be satisfactorily answered, it is requisite that some determinate meaning should be affixed to the terms *justification* and *sanctification*.

1. By justification is meant that gracious and unmerited act of God whereby, in consideration of the Atonement and Intercession of Christ, He absolves and acquits the penitent believer from the guilt and punishment of past sin, pardons his past transgressions, receives him into His favor and family, and treats him with the same regard and favor as if he were actually righteous or just.

2. Sanctification is a general term which signifies the being made pure and holy. This includes two ideas: 1. Separation from the world and sin; 2. Dedication and devotion to God.

\* It will be remembered that this paper is inserted here to illustrate the writer's "powers of thought and style" at a very early age.

Sanctification used in this general sense, evidently admits of various degrees. A man may be more or less separated from sin, and more or less given up to God.

It is equally evident that every justified person is in some degree sanctified. He is so sanctified, at least, as is allowed on all hands, as to be separated or freed from all outward sin, which he has learned to flee from as from the face of a serpent; and he is so far sanctified, at least, as is likewise allowed on all hands, that his life, in its general course and tenor, is a life of devotion to God: to please and glorify God is the general, ruling motive of his soul.

The term "sanctification," however, is frequently used in a less general and more limited sense, and is used among the Methodists to express that operation of the Spirit of Grace which completely removes the natural antipathy to God and holiness, utterly subverts the natural ascendancy and dominion of the flesh over the spirit, and frees a man from every part of that *carnal mind* which is enmity against God; in other words, a man is said to be sanctified when he is so filled with love to God, and with love to man for God's sake, as utterly to subdue and extinguish all unholy tempers, affections, and dispositions.

In this limited sense I conceive the term sanctification is used in the question before us, which, therefore, may be stated thus: When a man is justified, is he so far sanctified as to be totally freed from the carnal mind? Or thus: When a man receives the Spirit of Adoption, which gives him the knowledge of salvation by the remission of his sins, is he so far renewed in the spirit of his mind as to love God with a supreme affection, and, by that love, to be purified from all unholy tempers?

——— and ——— maintain the *negative* of these questions. They assert that, though a justified person is in part sanctified, he is not so far sanctified as to experience the utter destruction of the carnal mind. His heart is still the seat of unholy tempers and dispositions. He feels the risings of anger, peevishness, pride, etc., which he often finds it hard work to subdue. He is often, by these contending principles, tossed up and down; sometimes happy, and sometimes cast down; sometimes alive to God, sometimes lukewarm and careless. But, when he comes to God a second time by faith in Christ, he is delivered from the remains of the *carnal mind*; he, for the first time, loves God with all his heart; and this "perfect love casts out" not only all tormenting "fear," but all anger, pride, and every other wrong disposition and temper. In support of this view of the subject, they say,

I. These two branches of conversion, justification and sanctification, are entirely distinct from each other in their nature. The one consists in the reception of mercy for the past, the other in the reception of such a degree of renewing grace as purifies the soul, and enables it to live to God for the time to come. Now, that justification and sanctification are distinct in their nature, is not denied; it is only contended that God nev-



er effects the one work without the other ; that, whenever a man is justified, he is also delivered from the carnal mind ; and that these two works together constitute Conversion, or the New Birth.

II. They allege a passage, 1 Cor., iii., 1, where the Apostle calls the Corinthians "babes in Christ," "*carnal*." To this it is answered, 1. That it may be a strong oratorical expression, not intended to be understood as positive assertion, but as a caution and warning. 2. That a person who has been once delivered from the *carnal mind* may nevertheless occasionally yield to temptation, and be guilty of some *carnal* act ; but this does not prove that he was never fully renewed, but that he has, in some degree, fallen from grace, and needs again to be renewed. 3. The apostle, in this same chapter, tells the very same persons that they are *holy*, "*the temple of God*." 4. A single passage of Scripture, like this, can not be urged to prove any point of doctrine, unless its meaning were clear, express, and unequivocal, which is by no means the case.

III. They urge the *experience* of many thousands of Christians, who, while in a justified state, have felt the existence of unholy tempers ; they have felt themselves to be proud, revengeful, angry, etc. ; but, coming afresh to God, they have been instantaneously and fully delivered. That many persons who have been clearly justified do, some time after their justification, feel evil tempers, is matter of fact ; but the point is, Have not these persons lost some degree of their "*first love*?" At the time when God first converted their souls they felt none of these evils. Their hearts overflowed with pure love. But, by not walking sufficiently in the exercise of faith, by unwatchfulness, or by neglect of prayer, they have, in a degree, relapsed, backslidden from God. They have, therefore, need to be again renewed and cleansed ; and, if they see this need, and come again as at first they came, God does speak the second time, "*Be clean*." But this does not prove that they were never cleansed before, any more than my hands having been dirty last night, or my having washed them this morning, proves that they had always been dirty till this morning, or that they had never, in all my life, been washed before.

Having thus answered the arguments alleged to prove the negative of the question, those who maintain the affirmative advance the following reasons :

I. It is surely allowed that a justified person, if he were instantly to die, would go to heaven. But, on the supposition that this justified person is unholy, if the carnal mind be not fully removed, how can he see the Lord ? Can light dwell with darkness ; a depraved and unrenewed sinner with a pure and holy God ?

II. If a man is not fully delivered from evil tempers when he is justified, and if that deliverance must necessarily be a subsequent work, how happens it that, in the New Testament, there are no instances of it re-

corded? For instance, we read of St. Paul's being convinced, and we read of his being converted; but we nowhere read of his feeling, in a few months or years after conversion, the remains of a carnal mind, or of his being suddenly and powerfully delivered from them. Is it not a fair inference that, at his conversion, he was both justified, and so far sanctified as to be freed from the carnal mind, and that he held fast this great salvation, and, having never lost it, did not need to have it restored to him? And if St. Paul held fast the purifying love imparted at conversion, why may not we?

III. Allowing, for argument's sake, that justification and sanctification are distinct works in point of time as well as of nature, at what distance of time from justification is it possible to attain sanctification? In twenty years? Then why not ten, or five, or one? Why not in one month, or week, or day? Why not in one hour or half an hour? If in half an hour, why not in one minute after? Till these questions are answered, no reason appears to contradict the idea that conversion, in the fullest sense of that term, is, in point of time, *one work*, though in point of nature it consists of two distinct parts—justification, and such a degree of sanctification as to be freed from all the carnal mind. Thus “old things” are done away—old evil tempers, as well as the guilt and condemnation of old sins—and “all things become new:” not only is the man's condition, character, and denomination changed, so that the heir of hell and child of Satan becomes a child of God and heir of heaven, but, at the same time, his whole frame and constitution of mind are also changed. He has not only a title, but a meetness for heaven. And so, his nature being changed, both the witnesses are joined, the Spirit of God and his. He may, however, lose his first love; he may, by unwatchfulness, quench the operation of “the Spirit of burning,” which alone could cleanse or keep him clean; by this means evil tempers may again have dominion over him. In this case, let him see his need of being again cleansed; let him come by faith to the fountain opened, and he may again be thoroughly and instantaneously purified.

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E, page 68.

*Directions concerning Prayer and Prayer-meetings.*

1. Let us endeavor to have a constant sense of the attributes of the Almighty deeply impressed upon our minds, in order to prevent trifling and frivolous expressions from proceeding out of our mouths.
2. Let us remember that we, unworthy, sinful, depraved, and rebellious creatures, have authority to approach our Sovereign and Creator by one “new and living way” only, the Lord Jesus Christ.
3. Let us keep the lamp of Divine life burning with great brightness in our own souls, remembering that our prayers will languish and droop in exact proportion to the state of our own souls.

4. Let us never, or as seldom as possible, begin to pray in *public* without having obtained a previous and *secret* interview with God. By this means we are ready to enter into immediate converse with Him, without the passing of much introductory ceremony, which, however necessary to ourselves, may be unprofitable to others. This direction is, however, in a great measure, or totally, superseded by living in a continual spirit of prayer. O desirable state! O "rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing," and "in every thing give thanks!"

5. Let us never pray *long* at one and the same time. In prayer-meetings this is sadly too frequent, but is very unpleasant and unedifying. Not one in a thousand is qualified to pray for twenty minutes (though many do, and presume themselves able to continue a longer time) without using many very irksome and tedious repetitions. . . . And if, in prayer-meetings, there should not be a sufficient number of people to fill up the usual time with ten-minute prayers, let the same persons exercise two or three separate times rather than continue long at one and the same time. But this direction must admit of particular cases of indulgence. If a person should, as Dr. Watts somewhere remarks, be led out of his general usage by some uncommon communication or comprehension of Divine goodness while in the office of prayer, it would be criminal indeed to desire to contract the then widened range of agonizing prayer or of ardent praise.

6. In like manner, let us never *sing long* at one time. *Three* or *four* verses at the opening of a meeting, with a single striking verse, or two short ones, between every prayer, are quite sufficient. Variety is very pleasing; it engages the faculties of attention, and may thereby lend some degree of force to the wings of our affections.

7. Another direction has often appeared extremely necessary, *viz.*, that every prayer-leader should store in his memory a variety of verses of hymns, suitable to the circumstance of entering upon prayer, which should be given out *extempore*, without being compelled to have recourse to a book, and to make the people wait till it be turned over to find something proper for the occasion. . . . The singing for the middle, and not for the beginning of the meeting, is here intended; and surely any one must discover that a verse or two so delivered has generally a much happier effect.

8. It will be well for one who can read properly to read sometimes a short, striking chapter, or part of one, or a chapter out of the Christian Pattern,\* or a section out of Mason's Remains.

9. Let us never attempt affected or lofty expressions, to make ourselves thought of highly by man. God hateth this with a most perfect hatred. What! can we, shall we, dare we go into the presence of that incomprehensibly wise and powerful Being, the Almighty, with such sinister intentions, or think to captivate his ear with elegant sentences and high-dressed diction? Let us shudder lest He sweep us from His pres-

\* By Thomas à Kempis.

ence into eternal darkness for our strange presumption. "*God be merciful to me, a sinner,*" is an example of simplicity worthy of imitation, and recommended to us by Christ himself.

10. If we are not already delivered from all evil jealousies about precedence—about another praying before or better than ourselves, let us not cease to request a deliverance at the Lord's hands from such uncomfortable and unchristian surmisings. 'Tis good to take contentedly the lowest seat. "*God resisteth the proud but giveth grace to the humble.*"

11. Never hold prayer-meetings in the house of any persons of doubtful character, or of such as do not live peaceably with their neighbors.

12. Let us always endeavor to present ourselves in every *public* duty of religion, yea, and *private* also, in the spirit of faith and of full expectation; and, if our hearts be right in the sight of God, we shall never be wholly disappointed. When we have labored in prayer, and have neither seen nor felt any fruit of our labor, let us not rest ourselves contented as though the Lord's presence had been evidently among us. 'Tis an unpleasant symptom when we are not pained at our own unprofitableness. I am informed of one person (and I trust there are more) who, when he has labored in public, and has not discovered the happy effects of Divine power accompanying his labors, is often so troubled in spirit as not to be able to sleep the succeeding night, but rises during the frequent intervals of interrupted rest to wrestle with the Lord in prayer. Would to God that every Christian man possessed the same earnest and laudable zeal! However, sure it is that self-examination and secret prayer are the certain handmaids to public usefulness and to private happiness.

13. Let us never use expressions in prayer without a feeling sense of what we are saying, remembering that God assuredly discerns our hypocrisy and insincerity. Let us say whatever we may or can, much or little, with fluency or with stammering, but let it be from the heart. Far better for us only to groan in secret than to tell the Lord in public this tale or the other, when we are conscious it is not so in reality. Paul says, "*I will pray with the Spirit;*" and the Spirit of the Lord is sincerity and truth.

14. And, lastly, there is a custom introduced into some prayer-meetings of applying loud *Amens*, etc., to the confessions, prayers, or praises of another, when it is evident that some persons so doing do not attend to the expressions just delivered. Now, as this may hurt some weak minds, it should, if possible, be avoided, while we labor to "*pray not only with the Spirit, but with the understanding also.*" But yet, let none conclude from hence that the practice of joining hearty *Amens* is altogether improper. No; hear *Gouge on the Whole Armor of God*, printed 1616, fully to the purpose: "The ordinary way and the best way for people to manifest their consent when a person is praying is with a distinct and audible voice to say *Amen*. This was commanded, Deut., xxvii., 15, etc.; and, accordingly, it was practiced, Neh., viii., 6. It is a sound well be-



seeming God's public worship, to make the place ring again, as we speak, with a joint *Amen* of the people. The Jews uttered this word with great ardency, and therefore used to double it, saying, *Amen—Amen*. Neh., viii., 6."

It is requested that this may be put into the hands of such as are accustomed to exercise in prayer-meetings; and the Lord give His blessing with it!

F, page 75.

*Samuel Bradburn, with Notices of Dr. Bunting.*

THE REV. ISAAC KEELING TO THE BIOGRAPHER.

Bath, December 11th, 1858.

On the subjects of inquiry in your last favor I have lively remembrances, which I place at your service.

I heard Mr. Bradburn twice when I was a boy, and a few years afterward, while I was still very young. I first heard Dr. Bunting at Newcastle-under-Lyne, when Mr. Morley was the superintendent.\* There was nothing in Dr. Bunting's sermon or manner to remind me of Bradburn. There was nothing in common with them except the general resemblance that both were masterly, for the mastery in each was characteristically distinct. Your father could not hear such men as Benson and Bradburn frequently without having his habits of thought imperceptibly influenced. Great contemporaries, who know much of each other, are mutually and unconsciously acted upon, while still retaining their own natural character as men of mind. But those who try to put on the lion's skin are the ambitious dunces, the conceited asses. Men of your father's stamp are eloquent, not by imitation, but from fullness of clear thought and energy of feeling, with facility and power of expression. I think that when Dr. Bunting "waxed boldly oratorical" he was nearer to the manner of Benson than Bradburn. Benson and your father were mighty in peroration, and addressed the conscience more especially than I suppose Bradburn did.

When I first heard your father he had completed his sixth year of traveling, and was leaving London for Manchester. He was pale, and, though of full habit, appeared in delicate health. I was told he had almost fainted that morning. Perhaps he was exhausted by the labors of the preceding Conference, which had just terminated. His preaching reminded me of no one. It was like the calm, unrippled flow of deep waters. It was an even, continuous stream of masculine sense, evincing thoughtful piety, sagacious discernment, and copious information, expressed in pure, proper, transparent language, and delivered with unfaltering ease and quiet power. The text was either, "Let us hold fast

\* See p. 251.

our profession," or "Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering;" but I think it was the latter. It surpassed all I had previously heard, and I have not since heard any thing superior to it. He preached twice the same day at Longton, where one of his texts was, "Secret things belong to the Lord," etc. I did not hear him there.

I first heard Mr. Bradburn at the opening of Burslem Chapel; the occasion, as I have since been given to understand, of the accusation brought against him by Peter Haslam. His voice was clear, his language perspicuous and coherent, and, with the exception of some extravagant sayings, his whole manner was self-possessed in a high degree.

His text was, "Is the Lord among us or not?" I was then but a schoolboy, and did not care much for plans of sermons. Indeed, then as now, I had a strong dislike of preachers who are ever saying "in the first place and in the second place," etc. I generally found that the more their sermons had of formal and arbitrary method, the less they had of natural and lucid order. But I remember the general character of that discourse, which, excepting some impertinent sallies, was sufficiently close to the text.

Before the sermon an anthem was performed. The Church-singers had been engaged for the occasion. There were various musical instruments rather indifferently played. It is said that a performer who was present, hoping to stimulate Mr. Bradburn to some curious and caustic remark, such as he had heard of, had contrived to put some of the instruments out of tune. The singing of the anthem, which comprised a bass solo, was about as articulate as the voices of the flutes and fiddles. Mr. Bradburn stood back in the pulpit during the performance, and when it closed, stepped forward, and, looking down toward the singing pew, said, with great gravity, "I suppose the Almighty might understand it, but, for my part, I did not understand a word of it."

In an early part of his introduction he said, "Some of you have heard it noised abroad that Bradburn is going to preach, and perhaps you think you do me a great favor in condescending to come to hear me; on the contrary, I think I do you a very great favor in giving you the opportunity of hearing me."

In applying the question in his text to the case of Methodism, he mentioned, among other things, the high-principled and steadfast loyalty of the connection; and said, for his own part, though he was by birth a Spaniard, he not the less held true allegiance to the king and constitution of Great Britain. His Spanish birth is explained in the Minutes of 1816 by the statement that he was born in the Bay of Gibraltar, and that his parents afterward removed to Chester. In alluding to our doctrines as one of the cumulative proofs that the Lord was among us, and mentioning, with others, the fall of man, he said, "Adam saw Eve was fallen, and he was resolved to fall with her; and who would not, that loved a good wife?" He forgot that just then she was a *bad* wife; but

perhaps he was of Dr. Clarke's mind, that a bad wife is better than none. Either way, he would not spare his jest, though profane and unseemly. When he came to speak of the collection, alluding to covetous and niggardly people, who give little in proportion to their means, and that little grudgingly, and adverting also to certain philosophical notions concerning the infinite divisibility of matter, he said, "A thousand such souls might be made to dance upon the point of a needle without jostling each other for want of room."

Some weeks afterward it was rumored that he would preach on a week evening. I have since been informed that it was in consequence of Mr. Haslam's notice of charges; that he suddenly came over to see whether Mr. Haslam could be induced to desist from pressing his accusation. The congregation was thin, in consequence of the shortness of the notice. I do not remember the text, nor any entire sentences of the sermon; but in this second instance I was exceedingly impressed with the majesty, fluency, flexibility, and variety of his delivery. The style, also, was easy and masterly. But that which left the most deep and permanent impression was the exquisite purity and beauty of his pronunciation; words, tones, cadences, all were at once manly and melodious. The phrase, "His co-eternal Son," occurred several times, and I have never since heard those words, or any others, pronounced with such majestic sweetness.

Some years afterward, Dr. Townley told me that those who knew Mr. Bradburn at his best, before a severe attack of fever which he had at Manchester, never expected to see his equal in the fine combination of oratorical powers, and that, after that fever, he was never quite himself, either in the pulpit or out of it; that his best efforts afterward were occasionally lighted up with some flashes of his former splendor, but that, with these exceptions, he was but the shadow of his previous greatness; that the fever had left traces in his brain which unsettled the balance of his mind, and rendered him incapable of those sustained and consistent exertions of mental power which, in his best days, held his hearers, of whatever class, in a prolonged state of delight and astonishment.

I am afraid that, when he was degraded, a harsh thing was done, and that he received hard measure. No doubt things were stated to the Conference which, as dry matters of fact, could not be gainsaid, and which filled wise and good men with grief and shame, and rendered the sentiment paramount that the morality of the body must be vindicated from the scandal. Perhaps the point of view indicated to me by Dr. Townley was not taken, and therefore the explanatory and mitigating considerations it would have presented were not entertained. He could not explain for himself on that principle, and, had any one attempted to plead for him on such a ground, he would probably have repudiated the plea with scorn and indignation. I suppose it did not occur to his judges to pass from the *moral* to the *mental* symptoms, and to inquire whether there

were not indications of partial, yet permanent aberration, occasioned by the long-continued delirium he had suffered a short time previously at Manchester. One of the symptoms of partial insanity which I have observed, as well as heard of, in certain cases, is a disregard of common propriety, such as many of Mr. Bradburn's strange sayings in the pulpit implied. Stopping short of a definite opinion where there are grounds of doubt, I yet do doubt whether, if the signs of mental disturbance in his case had been a little stronger, or whether, if the case had been contemplated with the same intelligent charity which, in our time, has dealt so considerately and tenderly with similar instances, there would not have been a somewhat milder act of still needful discipline. The men of that day did their best, according to the evidence before them.

Mr. Naylor\* being the oldest preacher now traveling, and having only commenced his itinerancy about or after that time, I infer that there is no one left who was present at that Conference,† and any account which can now be obtained must be from hearsay. At present there is a considerable number of racy anecdotes of Mr. Bradburn afloat in a traditional form, which in another generation will either have passed from even secondary remembrance, or will have retained currency in a mutilated state.

I have been told that, a young man having asked his advice about preaching, he gave it in one short sentence—"Stick to your text, though it should be as dry as a stick." Some have thought this a very queer direction. It was a dark saying, pithy and startling in expression, and demanding consideration. He would be a foolish preacher who would choose a text so dry. But I apprehend the meaning intended to be suggested was, that, the text being chosen, the sermon throughout should be closely connected with it, and nothing irrelevant be allowed. With the exception of his proneness to unseasonable sallies of wit, his own practice seems to have been according to his precept; while the plans and illustrations of his sermons had the marks of genius in being natural, but not obvious. I consider his fast-day sermon on Equality an extraordinary instance of artistic skill: the plan being at once natural, surprising, and exhaustive; enabling him, without wandering from his text, to state and enforce the chief parts of scriptural and evangelical truth, and, at the same time, answering the purpose of an indirect and dexterous clearing of himself from the suspicion of holding French notions of equality, to which his early admiration of the Revolution of 1789 had seemed to make him liable.

An instance of injudicious management of the voice on the part of a young man at a district meeting led him to say, "Speak with your mouth,

\* Whose name can never be mentioned but with the highest honor as the only surviving founder of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and as having "borne the burden and heat" of an active itinerancy for nearly fifty-seven years. My father was wont to speak of the exalted estimate he had formed of Mr. Naylor's incorruptible integrity and uprightness of character.

† The Conference of 1802. See p. 73.



man," and to give a humorous caricature of the manner which he called speaking from the stomach, but which is also speaking from the throat, the words being sent forth with a strong guttural effort, the chest being drawn in to expel the last portion of breath before the next inspiration; the whole process interfering with distinctness and ease of utterance, as well as being injurious to the throat in particular, pernicious to the general health of the speaker, and most disagreeable to the hearers. Many of the cases of loss of voice, or "Clergyman's throat," would probably have been avoided if the persons concerned had been early attentive to his precept, "Speak with your mouth, man."

I have heard of one of his delirious speeches at Manchester, addressed to John Grant, who was sitting up with him during a part of his dangerous illness, and with difficulty restraining his feverish violence; but it was too wild and furious to be recorded, though so intensely and characteristically energetic and vivid that, once heard, it can not be forgotten.

Since writing the above, it has come to my remembrance that he is said to have once stated in substance, in his introduction to a morning sermon at Leeds, that he had carefully studied the subject three times over: First, he had been filling his mind with whatever seemed to be belonging or related to the subject, or what, without impropriety or irrelevancy, *might be said*; next, on account of the limits of the time, and of the hearers' patience and power of attention, he had been considering, as to the various topics and remarks which his text naturally suggested, *what need not be said*; and he had then been considering how he might best place before them what was so appropriate to the subject, so important and essential that it *ought to be said*. What a transformation would be effected in many long discourses if preachers would pass the substance of their sermons through this highly rational and judicious process!

It has been said that he professed to classify preachers according to a graduated scale of five degrees, nearly thus: 1, excellent or admirable; 2, able or acceptable; 3, respectable; 4, tolerable; and, 5, unbearable. The mere enumeration of such classes should stimulate all who do not despair of self-improvement to do all that is possible to obtain, on Bradburn's scale, a good degree.

My idea of him, as to his powers, has long been that, apart from his eccentricities and weaknesses, which I ascribe in a great measure to infirmity, he was not a mere orator, but a man of fine and powerful genius, who had rich and noble faculties, and had been diligent and successful in self-cultivation. The Rev. John Reynolds, sen., informed me that, when Mr. Fletcher was writing his Checks, Mr. Wesley sent Mr. Bradburn, then a young man, to assist him in his village services; and that Mr. Fletcher frequently heard him preach, and gave him the valuable advantage of his kind criticism and counsel. His own bold, easy, and correct English was such as no man acquires without perseverance in a right course of means.

His diligence may be inferred from one of his reported sayings on leaving Manchester—that he had twelve hundred outlines of sermons untouched (not used in preaching in that circuit) at the end of three years' ministrations.

The result of such endowments, improved with such assiduity amid all the hinderances and discouragements of a laborious and harassing vocation, was, that to be comprehensive and lucid in arrangement; beautifully clear in statement or exposition; weighty, nervous, and acute in argumentation; copious, various, and interesting in illustration; overwhelming in pathos—to wield at will the ludicrous or the tender, the animating, the sublime, or the terrible, seem to have been habitually in his power. Too often he was minded to indulge in the ludicrous and the sarcastic, for which his own indirect apology was, that the more wit a man might possess, the more judgment would he need to control and direct it.

G, page 83.

*Minutes of a District Meeting held at Manchester on Wednesday and Thursday, the 30th of November and the 1st of December, 1796.*

Present—Alexander Mather, Thomas Taylor, John Allen, Benjamin Rhodes, Jeremiah Brettell, Thomas Rutherford, Henry Moore, John Booth, Timothy Crowther, John Gaulter, James McDonald, Thomas Wood, David Barrowelough, Robert Miller, John Denton, George Sykes, Thomas Fearnley, George Morley, George Marsden, Joseph Collier.

After solemn prayer, the meeting was opened by Mr. MOORE, who gave a pleasing account of those brethren who had been the cause of some uneasiness in Liverpool last week being now reconciled to their brethren by acknowledging their fault, expressing their sorrow for it, and engaging to act in union with their brethren for the time to come.

It was then desired that the Salford Address, signed *John Shore*, dated the 4th day of October, 1796, should be read. This being done, the following questions were asked:

Q. 1. Does this address concern only the society at Manchester, and the preachers stationed there?

A. It manifestly concerns the whole connection.

Q. 2. Is it proper that Mr. MATHER should retain his office as Chairman?

A. Undoubtedly it is, as he was appointed to it by the Conference, and is not *personally* concerned in the business upon which we are assembled.

Q. 3. Who is appointed secretary?

A. THOMAS TAYLOR.

Q. 4. Shall the above address be again read and considered, paragraph by paragraph?

A. By all means. This was accordingly done; and we were unanimous in our judgment that this address is calculated,

I. To deceive and mislead all those into whose hands it may come.

II. To make the minds of the people evil-affected toward the preachers by false and unjust representations of them and their conduct.

III. That its authors and supporters have virtually renounced all connection with the Conference by rejecting its rules, and, of consequence, all connection with those who desire to submit to them.

Any who may desire to see these points fully proved, we refer to the PROTEST published against the said address by the trustees, local preachers, leaders, and stewards of the Manchester society, dated October 4th, 1796. That Protest was also read in the same manner, and approved of unanimously, and it is recommended to the brethren to let it have a full circulation in the societies.

Q. 5. What answer can be given to the three questions proposed by our brethren who have signed the Protest?

A. 1. We are unanimous as to the justness of our rules as contained in the Minutes of the Conference and in the Rules of the societies, and we believe them not only designed, but well adapted to promote the welfare and preserve the peace of the whole connection.

2. We are of one mind as to the power vested in the Conference, and we approve of the account given of that power in the Manchester Protest, viz.,

The power of the Conference is neither "usurped" nor wholly "delegated" by men, but is first given to them by GOD, in common with all who are called by HIM to the work of the ministry: Acts, xx., 28; 1 Thess., v., 12, 13; 1 Tim., v., 17, 19; Heb., xiii., 7, 17; 1 Peter, v., 1-5. Secondly, it is a power inherent in themselves, as ministers who have first formed themselves into a body, and made such rules as they judged proper, first for the government and direction of that body, and, secondly, for those who might desire to unite with them. This must consequently imply a power of judging with whom they will (or will not) hold this fellowship, viz., such as agree to be subject to these rules, and so long as they are subject to them. There is also a power delegated by the Deeds of the Chapels to those preachers who assemble in Conference, to appoint, from year to year, who shall therein preach and expound God's holy word; and, in some deeds, to perform the worship of Almighty God as the same has been usual among the Methodists. Yet these powers, so possessed or delegated, except in the first instance, have been, by mutual consent of preachers and people, restricted—first, by the Deeds of the Chapels; secondly, by the Minutes of the Conference; and, thirdly, by the Pacific Plan of 1795. This proves that the preachers are not "usurpers" nor "despots," as also that they have, since the death of Mr. WESLEY, made many rules in favor of the people; and that they do not consider themselves exactly in his place, as all who knew him are

fully aware he would not have submitted to the above agreements or rules, even for the preachers, after his death.

As to the third question,

1. We must observe, as before, that those brethren who renounce the Conference rules by *that act* virtually separate themselves from it.

2. That our Society Rules require that the members shall not speak evil of ministers, and that they shall not rail at or revile any man; and by those rules all who thus offend are, after due admonition and forbearance, ordered to be excluded. In this also we are unanimous, that those brethren who signed that address, as mentioned above, are guilty in all these respects, and in a high degree; that they are excluded by these rules; and that, as they have been admonished, and borne with for some time, they ought, agreeable to many passages of Scripture, to be put away from us. We shall only quote the following: Rom., xvi., 17: *We beseech you, brethren, mark those that cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.* Titus, iii., 10: *A man that is a heretic, that is, who is a party maker (see Mr. WESLEY's notes on the passage), after the first and second admonition, reject.* 1 Cor., v., 11: *If any man who is called a brother be—a railer, with such a one, no, not to eat.* This we know your superintendent, in conjunction with the leaders, might have done; but as you desired our advice before you thus proceeded, we advise you to use the same tenderness and forbearance a little longer. If this do not engage those brethren to return, you have *no* alternative but to refuse them tickets at the next visitation. Yet we propose to meet the leaders before we depart, that we may admonish those brethren in their presence, 1. That if they be thus removed, they are themselves the sole cause of that removal. 2. That they have now a fair opportunity of continuing with their brethren on the following easy terms, viz., That they lay all these causes of dissension entirely aside, and, as they have done before, to act in union with their brethren. This we entreat them to do for the Lord's sake, for the good of their own souls, and for the comfort, harmony, and prosperity of the whole connection.

Signed by order of the Meeting,

A. MATHER, T. TAYLOR.

## II, page 128.

*A few plain and free Thoughts, by the late Reverend Robert Lomas.*

I judge that when the apostle, in the 8th of Romans, speaks of a carnal and a spiritual mind, he speaks of *prevailing* and *general* dispositions, and *not* of *occasional* and *transient* emotions of mind.

I think he opposes the carnal to the spiritual mind, and the spiritual to the carnal mind, and supposes that they exclude each other; so that,



when the one exists, the other does *not* exist. It appears to me that, by being carnally minded, and being in the flesh, and minding the things of the flesh, and being after the flesh, he meant exactly one and the same thing.

It seems also, by what he says, that the persons who were in the state described by those phrases were dead, and could not please God. According to my judgment, he supposes and asserts that a believer in Christ is not in such a state, but is translated out of it, into one wholly different; for he says of them, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be," etc.

From this view of the chapter, I infer that a child of God is not carnally, but spiritually minded; that he is not in the flesh, but in the spirit; that he is not dead, but alive; that he is not at enmity with God, but pleases God, and is accepted of Him; and that he is not in a state of condemnation, but in a state of peace, and has peace in himself. But all these propositions, you will remember, are used with reference to what is *prevailing* and *general* in a child of God.

Some use the expression, the *remains* of the carnal mind in a believer; think it is quite scriptural; and are surprised that any question should be made concerning it.

I am a plain man, and my thoughts are free. On this subject I have to say that if, by that expression, it be meant that a believer has any remains of *that carnal mind which is enmity against God*, and that this is in him *at all times until* he be wholly sanctified, I feel some objection to it, for I do not believe it in that sense. But if it be meant only that a weak believer, not living in the exercise of his faith, may be occasionally too much under the power of carnal things, so as to be properly called carnal for the time, as the apostle called the Corinthians on account of their party matters, etc., I have not the smallest objection to it: a weak believer, a child, an infant in grace, may be in such a state, and be a weak believer still.

Yet more: if persons who use that phrase (and, by the way, I do not know that I shall ever use it in any sense, for I suppose it conveys a certain true idea to many of our hearers) mean only that believers who are not matured in grace have in themselves at all times, and occasionally feel, a certain proneness or propensity toward that evil which prevailed over them when they were dead to God and far from Him, which proneness or propensity is the effect of a course of inward and outward sinful acts, and from which proneness or propensity they may be freed by the grace of God, and by the exercise of that grace in the way of godliness, I heartily subscribe to their meaning, for I am fully persuaded of the truth of this thing.

But probably some tenacious persons, fearing lest I should conceal some heterodox notions under the cover of the word proneness or propensity, would urge me farther, and ask, "Do you think the child of God

who has that propensity, and occasionally feels it, can go to heaven in his present state? Must he not experience another *essential change* in himself? Must he not be brought into a state of entire sanctification before he can see God? Can any man see the Lord without holiness?" etc. And, as I do not wish to retain any thing erroneous, especially in matters of experience, I might be glad of an opportunity of bringing my sentiments to a farther test by replying to the above as follows: 1. I am persuaded that no unholy thing can have place in heaven. I believe that there must be in us an entire conformity to God, in order that we may dwell with Him; for I find it is impossible to walk with Him on earth unless we be agreed with Him.

But, 2. I do not conceive that the proneness or propensity of which I spoke has in it the *nature of unholiness* or *sin*; for it has not any *necessary concurrence* of the *mind* or *will* of the believer at *any* time, and, by the grace of God, he may be saved from its *power* at *all* times.

Therefore, 3. I do not see the necessity of *another essential* change, or *change of nature*, in the believer; I can not see how it can be necessary for him to *pass into another state* in order that he may enter into the kingdom of God.

In my judgment, there are only *two* states, *strictly speaking*, in which a man can be while in this world—a state of carnality and a state of spirituality, or a state of life and a state of death, or a state of condemnation and a state of justification; in other words, the state of a believer who is translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son, and the state of a sinner who abides in that darkness.

In my opinion, believers *now* have eternal life, and are now, *inasmuch as they are children of God*, and *possessed of a new and Divine nature*, made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. Unless this be granted, I do not see how it is possible to avoid the error of those who say that, "if a justified person were to die before he were wholly sanctified, he would go to hell and be damned."

I, page 139.

*List of the Texts of Dr. Bunting's Discourses prepared before he left Macclesfield, placed in the Order of Preparation.*

- I. John, xiv., 1 : Ye believe in God, believe also in Me.
- II. Num., xxiii., 10 : Let me die the death of the righteous, etc.
- III. Luke, ii., 10, 11 : Fear not; for, behold, I bring you glad tidings, etc.
- IV. Luke, ii., 14 : Glory to God in the highest, etc.
- V. Isa., lv., 6 : Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, etc.
- VI., LIX. Titus, ii., 11–13 : The grace of God which bringeth, etc.
- VII. Luke, xii., 32 : Fear not, little flock, etc.

- ~ VIII. Matt., xi., 28 : Come unto Me, all ye, etc.  
 IX. Rom., vi., 17 : God be thanked that ye, etc.  
 X. Num., x., 29 : We are journeying, etc.  
 XI. 1 Tim., iii., 16 : Great is the mystery, etc.  
 XII. Luke, xxiv., 34 : The Lord is risen indeed.  
 XIII. Phil., iv., 19 : My God shall supply, etc.  
 XIV., LVIII. Jude 20, 21 : But ye, beloved, building up yourselves, etc.  
 XV. Mark, xvi., 15 : Go into all the world, etc.  
 XVI. Gen., vii., 1 : Come thou, etc., into the ark.  
 XVII. Luke, xv., 2 : This Man receiveth sinners.  
 XVIII. Matt., xxiv., 44 : Be ye also ready, etc.  
 XIX. Prov., iv., 7 : Wisdom is the principal thing.  
 XX. Psalm lvii., 1 : Be merciful unto me, O God, etc.  
 XXI. 1 Thess., v., 25 : Brethren, pray for us.  
 XXII. 2 Kings, xviii., 5-7 : Hezekiah's character.  
 XXIII. Job, xxii., 21 : Acquaint now thyself, etc.  
 XXIV. Rom., xiii., 11 : Now is our salvation, etc.  
 XXV., XXVI. Matt., xvi., 6 : Pharisees and Sadducees.  
 XXVII. Job, ii., 10 : Shall we receive good, etc.  
 XXVIII. Heb., ii., 13 : How shall we escape, etc.  
 XXIX. Gal., vi., 9 : Let us not be weary in well-doing.  
 XXX. Heb., iv., 14 : Seeing that we have, etc.  
 XXXI. Luke, xxii., 32 : When thou art converted, strengthen, etc.  
 XXXII. Psalm xxxiv., 19 : Many are the afflictions, etc.  
 XXXIII. Jonah, ii., 9 : Salvation is of the Lord : with a paraphrase of chapters i. and ii. Two parts.  
 XXXIV. 1 Peter, iv., 18 : If the righteous, etc.  
 XXXV. Rev., iii., 20 : Behold, I stand, etc.  
 XXXVI. Eccles., viii., 12 : Surely I know, etc.  
 XXXVII. Matt., v., 25, 26 : Agree with thine adversary, etc.  
 XXXVIII. Isa., lxvi., 14 : The hand of the Lord, etc.  
 XXXIX. Luke, xiii., 6-9 : The barren fig-tree.  
 XL. James, v., 8 : Be ye also patient, etc.  
 XLI. Acts, xi., 26 : The disciples were called Christians.  
 XLII. Rom., viii., 16 : The Spirit itself beareth witness, etc.  
 XLIII., XLIV. Psalm l., 14, 15 : Offer unto God thanksgiving, etc.  
 XLV. 1 Tim., iv., 8 : Godliness is profitable, etc.  
 XLVI. Matt., xx., 1, *et seq.* : Parable of the laborers.  
 XLVII. Luke, xvii., 32 : Remember Lot's wife.  
 XLVIII., XLIX. Phil., iii., 20, 21 : Our conversation, etc.  
 L. 1 Peter, iii., 15 : Be ready always to give an answer, etc.  
 LI. Ezek., ix., 4 : Go through the city, etc., and set a mark on the men that sigh, etc.  
 LII. 1 Peter, v., 10 : But the God of all grace, who hath called, etc.

- LIII. Prov., xxiv., 10 : If thou faint in the day of adversity, etc.
- LIV. 1 Peter, iii., 18 : Christ once suffered, etc.
- LV., LVI., LVII. Luke, xv., 11-24 : Parable of the Prodigal Son.
- LVIII. Jude, 20, 21 : But ye, beloved, etc.
- LIX. Titus, ii., 11-13 : The grace of God, etc.
- LX. Eph., iv., 30 : Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, etc.
- LXI. Zech., iii., 6, 7 : If thou wilt walk in my ways, etc.
- LXII. 1 John, i., 9 : If we confess our sins, he is faithful, etc.
- LXIII., LXIV. Eccles., xii., 1 : Remember now thy Creator, etc.
- LXV. Heb., iv., 16 : Let us come boldly, etc.
- LXVI. John, i., 41, 42 : The calling of Peter.
- LXVII. Psalm i.
- LXVIII. 1 Sam., xii., 23 : Moreover, as for me, God forbid, etc.
- LXIX. Rom., i., 16 : I am not ashamed of the Gospel, etc.
- LXX. Heb., vi., 12 : Be not slothful, but followers of them, etc.
- LXXI. John, iii., 16 : God so loved the world, etc. (Altered from Burder.)
- LXXII. Heb., ii., 11 : Both He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified.
- LXXIII. Heb., ii., 10 : For it became Him for whom are all things, etc.
- LXXIV., LXXV. James, i., 21 : Wherefore lay apart, etc.
- LXXVI., LXXVII. Psalm x., 13 : Wherefore doth the wicked contemn God, etc.
- LXXVIII. 2 Kings, v., 19 : Naaman's cure and conversion.
- LXXIX., LXXX. Heb., xii., 1 : Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed, etc.
- LXXXI. Rom., viii., 2 : The law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, etc.
- LXXXII., LXXXIII. Zeph., ii., 3 : Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek, etc.
- LXXXIV. Luke, ii., 15 : Let us go now even unto Bethlehem, etc.
- LXXXV., LXXXVI. Col., iii., 11 : Christ is all.
- LXXXVII., LXXXVIII. Psalm xciv., 19 : In the multitude of my thoughts, etc.
- LXXXIX. 1 John, v., 3 : This is the love of God, that we keep, etc.
- XC., XCI., XCII. Heb., xi., 26 : Esteeming the reproach of Christ, etc.
- XCI. 1 Cor., xv., 10 : By the grace of God, I am what I am.
- XCIV. 1 Thess., v., 17, 18 : Pray without ceasing, in every thing give thanks.
- XCV. Heb., x., 23 : Let us hold fast the profession of our faith, etc.
- XCVI. Rom., viii., 32 : He that spared not his own Son, etc.
- XCVII., XCVIII. Luke, xxiii., 42, 43 : The dying thief.
- XCIX. Rom., vi., 22 : Being now made free from sin, etc.
- C. 2 Peter, iii., 14 : Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look, etc.
- CI. Acts, iii., 22, 23 : Christ the prophet like unto Moses.



- CII. John, x., 11 : I am the good Shepherd.
- CIII., CIV. 1 Thess., v., 19 : Quench not the Spirit.
- CV. 1 Cor., ix., 26, or 1 Tim., i., 18 : The Christian warfare.
- CVI. Isai., xxviii., 16 : Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation, etc.
- CVII. Titus, ii., 11-13, Part third : Looking for that blessed hope, etc.
- CVIII. Heb., x., 35, 36 : Cast not away your confidence, etc.
- CIX. Deut., viii., 16 : Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, etc.
- CX. 1 John, iii., 2 : Beloved, now are we the sons of God, etc.
- CXI. 1 Thess., v., 20 : Despise not prophesyings.
- CXII. Heb., ii., 1 : Therefore we ought to give, etc.
- CXIII. Rom., xv., 19 : From Jerusalem and round about, etc.
- CXIV. 2 Sam., xxiv., 13 : Now advise and see, etc.
- CXV. Job, xvii., 11 : My days are past, my purposes, etc.
- CXVI. 1 John, iii., 14 : We know that we have passed, etc., because we love the brethren.
- CXVII. Jer., viii., 22 : Is there no balm in Gilead ? etc. Why then is not the health ? etc.
- CXVIII. Joshua, xxiv., 15 : If it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose, etc.
- CXIX. Psalm lxxvii., 3 : I remembered God, and was troubled.
- CXX. John, xvii., 15 : I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, etc.
- CXXI. Acts, iii., 26 : Unto you first God, having raised up, etc.
- CXXII. Luke, xxii., 31 : Behold, Satan hath desired to have you.
- CXXIII. 1 Cor., xv., 29 : Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead.
- CXXIV. Gal., vi., 2 : Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill, etc.
- CXXV., CXXVI. Jer., xiii., 17 : If ye will not hear it, my soul shall weep, etc.
- CXXVII. Jonah, i., 17 ; ii., 1-10.
- CXXVIII. Acts, xiii., 38, 39 : Be it known, etc., that through this man, etc.
- CXXIX. Psalm xvi., 6 : The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places, etc.
- CXXX. Acts, ix., 4 : Why persecutest thou me ?
- CXXXI. 1 Peter, v., 7 : He careth for you.
- CXXXII. Luke, xxii., 31 : Satan hath desired to have you. Part second.
- CXXXIII. Psalm xxvii., 13, 14 : I had fainted unless, etc. Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, etc.
- CXXXIV. 2 Sam., xx., 9 : Art thou in health, my brother ?
- CXXXV. Job, xxxiii., 19 : He is chastened also with pain.
- CXXXVI. Deut., xxix., 29 : The secret things belong, etc.
- CXXXVII. Neh., vi., 3 : I am doing a great work.
- CXXXVIII. Rom., viii., 8 : They that are in the flesh can not please God.

- CXXXIX., CXL. Mark, vi., 6 : He marvelled because of their unbelief.  
 CXLI. 1 Sam., xxx., 6 : But David encouraged himself in the Lord his God.  
 CXLII., CXLIII. Prov., iii., 17 : Her ways are ways of pleasantness, etc.  
 CXLIV. Rom., viii., 17 : If children, then heirs, etc.  
 CXLV. Jonah, i., ii. Part third.  
 CXLVI. Phil., i., 6 : Good work begun and perfected.  
 CXLVII. Heb., xii., 1, 2 : The Christian race. Part third.  
 CXLVIII. Isai., xlv., 21 : Israel not forgotten of God.  
 CXLIX. James, iv., 7 : Submission to God.  
 CL. Psalm xx., 5 : In the name of our God we will set up our banners.  
 CLI. John, viii., 51 : Verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, etc.  
 CLII. Joshua, xxiv., 15, *last clause* : As for me and my house, etc.  
 CLIII. Luke, xii., 31 : But rather seek ye the kingdom of God.

J, page 145.

*Notices of the late Mrs. Bunting.*

The late Mrs. Bunting, whose maiden name was Maclardie, was born at Macclesfield on the 26th of February, 1782. Her mother was removed from her by death when she was only eleven months old, but, in the immediate prospect of dissolution, gave strict injunctions as to the religious education of her infant daughter, and specially recommended her to the friendly and pastoral attentions of the Rev. David Simpson, then the excellent and justly-eminent minister of Christ Church in Macclesfield, who visited Mrs. Maclardie during her last affliction. The charge thus solemnly imposed was to some extent fulfilled. During her childhood and youth Miss Maclardie had generally the high privilege of attending the public ministry of Mr. Simpson in the church just mentioned, and cherished to the latest period of her life the most reverential and delightful reminiscences of a worship deeply devotional in its forms, greatly assisted, as to its decorum and impressive solemnity, by the rich musical taste and judgment of her father (to which the venerable Mr. Wesley, who occasionally officiated for Mr. Simpson, has borne testimony in one of his published Journals), and, above all, spiritualized and made *religiously* effective by the evangelical piety of the minister and of a very large proportion of his usual congregation. At the time referred to, Methodism presented in the town of Macclesfield a beautiful and, even then, somewhat uncommon development of its catholic spirit and character. The preachers and members of the Wesleyan Society generally were constant hearers and communicants at Christ Church, especially in the forenoon of the Lord's day ; while, on the other hand, Mr. Simpson himself, and a considerable number of those members of his

congregation who were considered as the more strict and regular adherents of the Establishment, were in the habit of frequently joining the Sunday evening services of the Wesleyan congregation. This circumstance, it is presumed, gave rise to Miss Maclardie's occasional attendance, even from her childhood, at the Methodist Chapel. She, however, always attributed her first effectual and saving impressions of religious truth to the blessing of God upon the public and private ministrations of Mr. Simpson himself. She also derived great spiritual advantage, in consequence of her being placed, when fourteen or fifteen years of age, under the care of the late Rev. Robert Smith, of Leek, a truly devoted minister of the Independent denomination. In his family she beheld, in himself and in Mrs. Smith, an edifying example, which had the most happy effect on her youthful mind, and to which she often referred in subsequent years as exhibiting one of the most impressive manifestations of uniform and consistent piety which she had ever witnessed. On her return from Leek to her native town, her religious views and feelings were fixed and deepened under the renewed ministry and pastoral attentions of Mr. Simpson. Her personal experience of the things of God became clear and satisfactory. After painful convictions of her own sinfulness, and guilt, and danger, she was brought to the exercise of faith in the sacrifice and atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ, and blessed with a comforting sense of her interest in God's pardoning mercy and paternal love. The minuter circumstances of that great and vital change in her spiritual relations, and state of heart toward God, which distinguished this important period of her life, can not here be detailed. They were very distinct in their character, and were often related by her with much feeling to her children, whose recollection of them is not only sweet and comforting to their minds, but of substantial value and interest, as furnishing them with a key to the peculiar cast of her Christian feelings and habits. One striking evidence of her possession of the grace which bringeth salvation soon appeared in the benevolent activity and zeal with which, under the guidance and auspices of some experienced friends, who saw the superior energy of her character, and were anxious to give to it a beneficial direction, she engaged in most affectionate, assiduous, and self-denying labors, such as became her sex and station, for the temporal relief and religious welfare of others. Her impressions of the misery and danger of the unconverted were exceedingly deep and stirring, and led her to almost daily efforts for their rescue, either by visiting the poor and sick, by reading the Scriptures, with accompanying counsel and with prayer, to the ignorant and neglected, in their own humble dwellings, or sometimes in the adoption, with reference to persons in the higher walks of life, of certain indirect methods of admonition and instruction, which, though perfectly private and unostentatious, might possibly result, she hoped, in the spiritual welfare of the parties concerned. In some instances at least belonging to the former class of persons, there

was reason to believe that these pious toils were instrumental, in the hands of God, of saving benefit. Her zeal for the salvation of others did not so absorb her as to make her overlook the primary duty of using every scriptural means for the confirmation and increase of her own piety; for, under a conviction of the duty and privilege of a close and regular Christian communion, she now formally united herself to the Methodist Society, being about twenty years of age.

In January, 1804, she was married to her now bereaved and mourning husband, and from that time, more especially, devoted her entire feelings, and energies, and talents to the cause of Christ among the Wesleyan Methodists, in whose purity, peace, and success as a religious community she felt a tender and unvarying interest; always retaining, however, a filial reverence for the Church of England, and particularly for its evangelical ministers and members, and a spirit of cordial esteem and affection toward real Christians of every name. During the period of her more public relation to the Wesleyan societies as the wife of a minister, she was, in the London, South Manchester, Salford, and other circuits, the leader of classes of females, all of which, with one exception, she was, at the request of the preachers for the time being, the instrument of first collecting together, and by whose members, respectively, her instructions and prayers were highly valued. In other towns where she was called to reside she was ever intent on doing good, and, except when interrupted by affliction, unwearied in labors of love and mercy.

Her health was constitutionally good, in a more than ordinary degree, until the autumn of 1827, when it began to fail. Since that period, with scarcely more than one interval of any long continuance (and that one of very recent date), she was an almost constant sufferer, either from the actual pressure of agonizing pain, or from the exhausting effects of its frequent paroxysms, or from the terror of its hourly-anticipated recurrence. Even during this dreadful ordeal, the characteristics of her natural temper, improved and sustained by the principles and consolations of religion; her vivacity and cheerfulness; her unwillingness to give trouble, and eagerness to minister to the comfort and joy of others when not literally incapacitated by the intensity of her own pain, were constantly apparent.

The interval of comparative exemption from violent paroxysms of suffering, and of apparent restoration to a state of vigorous health, to which allusion has been made, though, by leading her family and friends to hope, alas! too fondly, that the bitterness of death was past, it aggravated the pang inflicted by the sudden and fatal termination of her returning disease, is nevertheless regarded by them with feelings of unfeigned thankfulness. The somewhat extended respite thus vouchsafed, and her temporary recovery of bodily and mental activity, afforded many occasions for illustrating to their view the solidity and excellence of her Christian character after all the trials which it had undergone; and, above all, it



afforded to herself the opportunity, which there is now good reason to be assured that she was divinely led to value and improve, of calm and happy preparation for the "change" which was so soon to "come."

The period in question, and especially the last months and weeks of it, were marked by a growing devotion of spirit, by evident signs of increasing profit and enjoyment in Divine ordinances, and by general meekness and serenity of mind. There is now reason to think that, since her return to London, not quite three weeks before her death, her thoughts were specially directed to contemplate the great uncertainty of earthly comforts, and the *possibility* of a sudden transition into eternity. She has been since busily employed, partly in the orderly arrangement of her domestic affairs, and partly in certain plans of private benevolence and kindness, in which her characteristic compassion for distress, and especially for what was once affluence, now reduced to circumstances of want and wretchedness, had induced her warmly to engage. The last Sabbath of her earthly sojourn appears, from various circumstances, which excited, even at the time, the observation of her husband and family, to have been eminently a day of much holy feeling and enjoyment, especially during the afternoon, which, according to her invariable rule, she spent in retirement with her Bible and her God. There was something peculiar in her countenance and demeanor when, after that holy exercise, she rejoined the domestic circle, which indicated that her communion during those hours of solitude and devotion had been with Christ and with heaven. In the forenoon of Monday, September 28th, she left her home with the intention of taking, with her husband, a short journey into the country on one of those errands of friendly and benevolent service for which she was ever ready. She was seized, before she proceeded far, by a violent attack of what has since appeared to be her old and deeply-rooted malady, for the relief of which the usual remedies were administered, and, as it seemed for a while, successfully; but the paroxysms of pain soon returned with greater severity, and it was not until several hours of intense suffering had elapsed that she became more composed, and at length appeared to fall into a deep sleep; not, however, of a character materially different from that which, on many former occasions, had been observed gradually to terminate in restoration to ease and comfort. Her last words were expressive of her sorrow for the trouble she had given to her attendants. About four o'clock on the following morning, while her husband was preparing for her something which he hoped might farther relieve her, she appeared suddenly to raise herself in her bed, changed her position, again lay down, and died! She exchanged mortality for life and bliss eternal on the 29th of September, 1835, in the fifty-fourth year of her age.

Sweet is the remembrance of her piety, her tenderness, her active charity, her conjugal and maternal love and assiduities, her many Christian graces. During the last year of her life the shadows of suffering

had passed away, and there remained, undisfigured and beauteous, the lineaments of a character maturing into heavenly brightness. The fatal termination of her long familiar disorder came on us by surprise; but we are inclined to believe, not only on general principles, but from certain indications in her own case (which, however, were not so interpreted at the time), that her mind was under preparation, special, deep, delightful—perhaps at the last entrancing—which took her attention away from a receding world, and left us without the consolation (the only consolation, however, which is withheld from us) of her last testimony. How joyful the surprise to a weary voyager, half slumbering in his berth, to be awakened by the intelligence that what he had taken for a common swell of the sea, such as he had experienced on many a stormy night before, with yet no land in sight, is nothing less than the effect of a gale that has driven the vessel suddenly into port, and of the agitation of the waves near the shore, and that his father and elder brother, and many friends, are already seen on the strand waiting to welcome him! Such was her joy. “Shortly ere she died” (to use the language of her husband, who unconsciously saw her die) “she seemed to receive a sudden summons to depart and be with Christ, and, by an effort of body as well as of mind, she sprang up to attend it.”

Perhaps some other record of what was admirable and exemplary in the deceased may be deemed expedient hereafter; at present, there is time only for the following testimony of one who knew her long and well (Mrs. Bulmer).

“Mrs. Bunting was distinguished for great energy of character. Her judgment was sound, and her principles well and strongly formed. She was benevolent in purpose, and prompt in executing what her liberal heart devised. Her kindness and activity in accomplishing a philanthropic object surmounted difficulties, and disregarded those personal sacrifices to which those are exposed who undertake to advocate the cause of the afflicted and forlorn. Nor, while she sought to mitigate calamity, was she unmindful of the sensibilities of those to whom she ministered relief: there was a tact of courtesy and kindness which made her generous effort doubly felt.

“In the sorrows of her friends, when suffering under desolating and afflictive dispensations, she took a lively interest, and by modes the most ingeniously and thoughtfully adapted to their circumstances endeavored to alleviate their grief. Engraven on the tablet of the heart, the endeared remembrance of these soothing, delicate, and kind expressions of her sympathy can never be obliterated from the grateful recollection of those minds to whom her friendship was a solace in the hour of trial, and who now unfeignedly lament her loss.

“Mrs. Bunting’s religion was neither speculative nor sentimental; it was based upon the firm foundations of scriptural truth. It had its seat in the understanding as well as in the heart, and its reality was evinced

by appropriate fruits. It was eminently practical; free from mystical abstractions or sectarian technicalities. It was evangelical and expansive; doctrinally and experimentally a deliberate, believing, and thankful acceptance of the great scheme of mediatorial mercy, inducing that reliance on it for salvation which brought established peace of conscience, and gave stability and strength to hope. A life devoted to the vigorous discharge of every social and domestic duty, with that habitual piety of heart which led her to confide her best and dearest interests to the gracious and parental government of God, and which, under circumstances of severe personal suffering, induced patient and submissive acquiescence in the Divine will, these were the practical results of Christian principles, and the continued evidences of the genuine and sterling nature of her faith.

"In conversation she was lively and intelligent, full of point and spirit, and on religious subjects showed much discrimination, and a quick perception of the slightest deviation from the severe and simple majesty of truth. This general impression remains as the result of long-continued intercourse, which might have been confirmed by particular instances had memory been charged with various conversations, which are now, alas! effaced. One of the most recent was on the subject of sudden death, in which Mrs. Bunting acquiesced with her friend that, however desirable a season of warning might be in order to complete an immediate preparation, yet that the time and circumstances connected with that awful change might, without anxiety, be left to the disposal of Divine wisdom and love."

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K, page 249.

*Extracts from a Statement of Facts and Observations relative to the late Separation from the Methodist Society in Manchester, affectionately addressed to the Members of that Body by their Preachers and Leaders.*

We shall now subjoin what we promised—our reasons for thinking that indiscriminate admission to meetings for Christian fellowship is highly improper.

1. We believe that such promiscuous admission of all who choose to attend, without distinction of motives or characters, is a gross violation of our Lord's precept in Matthew, vii., 6. *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.* This text we understand as containing a *general rule*, applicable to a great variety of particular cases, but specially and justly applicable to the case now under consideration. And we could easily produce instances in which the pearls of Christian doctrine and experience have actually been thus trampled

under their feet by profane sinners who have attended the meeting at North Street for purposes of mirth and ridicule, and have afterward most awfully abused what they there heard. If it be said that the same objection lies against the public preaching of the Gospel to promiscuous auditories, we answer that the two cases materially differ. Preaching is, *by Divine authority*, expressly directed to *mankind at large*. But the precepts which constitute our warrant for meetings of Christian fellowship are as expressly limited within a much narrower sphere. We are commanded to teach and admonish *one another*; to comfort and edify *one another*; to confess our faults *one to another*; and to provoke *one another* to love and good works. To his *ministers* God has said, "Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to *every creature*." But where is it written, "Go and relate all the particular details of your personal experience in religious things to *every creature*?" In public preaching, the grace of the Gospel, and the consolations and promises which belong to penitents and believers, are guarded against the profane prostitution of others by suitable cautions and admonitions. But this point is not, and never can be, sufficiently secured in meetings like these, where private Christians are the speakers, many of whom are comparatively ignorant and inexperienced. Public preaching is designed, among other purposes, to be the instrument of *producing* penitence and faith, and is therefore properly addressed to the impenitent and Christless; but such meetings as those now under discussion in their own nature *presuppose* either penitence or faith in the persons who attend them, and are designed to encourage seeking souls, and to edify and confirm the faithful. Finally, public preaching does not constitute any religious society or ecclesiastical union among those who hear it; but meetings like that at North Street do imply such union, and therefore ought to be accessible only to persons entitled to expect the right hand of fellowship, and willing to submit to those terms on which alone that fellowship can be scripturally conceded.

In order to establish and vindicate the application here made of our Savior's general rule, we shall quote the following passage from Mr. WESLEY's excellent *Discourses on the Sermon on the Mount*; which discourses, together with all the other writings of the venerable author, we are glad to take this opportunity of recommending to your frequent and careful perusal.

"Give not that which is holy unto dogs. The holy, the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, such as were *hid from the ages and generations* of old, and are now made known to us only by the revelation of Jesus Christ and the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, are not to be prostituted unto these men who know not if there be any Holy Ghost. Not, indeed, that the ambassadors of Christ can refrain from declaring them in the great congregation, wherein some of these may probably be. *We must* speak, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. But this is



not the case with private Christians. They do not bear that awful character; nor are they under any manner of obligation to force these great and glorious truths on them who contradict and blaspheme, who have a rooted enmity against them. Nay, they ought not so to do, but rather to lead them as they are able to bear. Do not begin a discourse with these upon remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost, but talk with them in their own manner and upon their own principles. With the rational, honorable, unjust epicure, *reason of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come*. This is the most probable way to make *Felix tremble*. Reserve higher subjects for men of higher attainments.

“*Neither cast ye your pearls before swine*—persons making no pretense to purity either of heart or life, but working all uncleanness with greediness. Talk not to them of the mysteries of the kingdom; of the things *which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard*; which of consequence, as they have no other inlets of knowledge, no spiritual senses, it can not enter into their hearts to conceive. Tell not them of the *exceeding great and precious promises* which God hath given us in the Son of his love. What conception can they have of being *made partakers of the Divine nature*, who do not even desire to *escape the corruption that is in the world through lust*? Just as much knowledge as swine have of pearls, and as much relish as they have for them; so much relish have they for the deep things of God, so much knowledge of the mysteries of the Gospel, who are immersed in the mire of this world, in worldly pleasures, desires, and cares. Oh, *cast not those pearls before these, lest they trample them under their feet*, lest they utterly despise what they can not understand, and speak evil of the things which they know not.”—WESLEY’S Works [edition 1771], vol. ii., p. 346, *et seq.*

2. The promiscuous admission which has been practiced at North Street is contrary to the general current of scriptural history and example. *Come hither*, said David, *all YE THAT FEAR THE LORD, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul*. In the days of Malachi, *THEY THAT FEARED THE LORD* were the persons who *spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard, and a book of remembrance was written*. Our blessed Master, too, was careful to *spoke wisdom only among them that were perfect*. His gracious exertions for the salvation of men were strictly governed by his own rule: *whosoever HATH, to HIM shall be given, and HE shall have more abundantly*. He was wont to reserve his most particular and most excellent communications for those who were not only his hearers, but also his stated and avowed disciples, and who had previously attained to such a maturity of knowledge in the first principles of his doctrine as disposed them to receive and improve his farther and more luminous instructions. Among other instances in which he has left us the example of this judicious and prudent *reserve*, it may be sufficient here to quote one. *When he was alone, THEY THAT WERE ABOUT HIM with the twelve asked of him the parable. And he*

said unto them, *UNTO YOU it is given to know THE MYSTERY of the kingdom of God ; but UNTO THEM THAT ARE WITHOUT, all these things are done IN PARABLES.* With many parables, it is added, in the same chapter, *spake he the word unto them, unto the people at large, as they were able to bear it ; but without a parable spake he not unto them ; AND WHEN THEY WERE ALONE, he expounded all things to his DISCIPLES.* Compare Matt., xiii., 11, 12, with Mark, iv., 10, 11, 34. Evident traces of similar discrimination and caution are to be found in the history of the first Christians. Thus, at the day of Pentecost, the three thousand were such as first *gladly received Peter's word*, and were then by baptism initiated into the Church. And it is *after such initiation only* that they are said to have been allowed to continue steadfastly, not merely in the apostles' doctrine, but in their private *fellowship*, and breaking of bread, and prayers : Acts, ii., 41, 43. When Paul and Barnabas had preached in the public synagogue at Antioch, *after the congregation was broken up* the more serious and religious part of it *followed them ;* and to these separately they *spoke* in a more particular and appropriate way, and *persuaded them to continue in the grace of God* : Acts, xiii., 14. And on their return to the same place, after an excursion to Lystra and elsewhere, *they gathered THE CHURCH*—not the mixed multitude, but *THE CHURCH together, and rehearsed all that God had done with them* : Acts, xiv., 27. We entreat you, brethren, to read, compare, and consider these passages, and then to say whether the plan of promiscuous admission into meetings for the declaration of religious experience, and for speaking peculiarly on the deep things of God, be not, as we have asserted, *contrary to the general current of Scriptural example.* Oh, let us not attempt to be *wise or zealous above what is written !* Let us not, under the idea of *doing more extensive good*, depart from the PERFECT PATTERN of our Lord, or violate the PERFECT LAW of his holy word. If men will not be converted by Moses and the prophets, by Christ and the apostles, as regularly preached to them IN THE GREAT CONGREGATION—if they will not be brought to reflection and prayer by the stated methods of Divine providence and grace, neither will they repent though we deviate from God's appointed order and revealed will by permitting them, while impenitent, to associate with us IN THE CHURCH.

3. Another objection to the plan of indiscriminate admission is its total inconsistency with the very nature, business, and design of those religious meetings to which we refer. They are *meetings of the CHURCH for Christian fellowship, for the communion of SAINTS.* In them, the special interests and concerns of CHRIST'S FAMILY, the duties, promises, consolations, trials, and prospects which are peculiar to the PEOPLE OF GOD, *as such*, are the grand subjects of conversation. But we ask, in the name of Reason, what have *aliens, and strangers, and enemies* to the commonwealth of our Israel to do with these ? Christian communion obviously belongs only to professed members of a Christian community.

For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? See 2 Cor., vi., 14-18. Can careless or profane *sinners* be expected to weep with suffering or tempted *saints*, or to rejoice with such as rejoice? Can *they* take sweet counsel together with Christians, or say to them in the language of Job, *I would strengthen you with my mouth, and the moving of my lips should assuage your grief?* Can *they* show forth the praises of God for having called those whose experience is related in their hearing out of darkness into marvelous light? Can *they* offer the prayer of faith for such as confess their faults that they may be healed? Alas! for all these duties of Christian fellowship they are totally unqualified. They have neither ability nor inclination to attempt them. And why should *they* be admitted to the *privileges* of our communion in Christ who can not at all perform those mutual *offices* of brotherly love which it necessarily implies? They are also as much unprepared to receive for themselves, as they are unable to communicate to others, that good which such meetings are designed and calculated to produce. Can *they* be edified or *built up* in holiness who have never laid the *foundation* even of repentance from dead works; and much less that of faith toward God? Are *they* likely to be benefited by that *strong meat, which belongeth*, says St. Paul, *to them that are of full age*, who are known to reject and nauseate even *the milk of the Word?* Ought the oil of heavenly consolation to be poured upon consciences that were never wounded by a sense of sin and danger? Does not such a practice tend to strengthen the hands of the ungodly, to soothe and harden them in their iniquity, and make them wallow like swine in their filthiness? Such promiscuous admissions must, in the very nature of things, do much evil. Where this plan is followed, many will be daubed with untempered mortar, and steal those cordials to which they have no lawful claim; the truly pious will be often grieved, and hindered from comfortably waiting on God; they who are qualified to speak most profitably and instructively will feel themselves fettered and silenced; and, in general, only those who are the most inexperienced and the least judicious will care to open their mouths at all. Thus that edification, which this mistaken and unscriptural laxity is designed to increase and extend, is in fact materially diminished by it; actual mischief is effected where greater good was intended; the grand design of meetings for Christian fellowship is defeated, and the abuse of them by some unhappily leads others to undervalue and neglect them.

4. We object to the plan of indiscriminate admission because it impedes the due administration of ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE. This is an express ordinance of God—as much His ordinance as the preaching of the Gospel or the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and whatever materially interferes with its regular exercise is, for that reason, unscriptural,

and highly injurious to the souls of men and to the interests of religion. One grand object of this discipline is to effect and maintain an open and visible separation and distinction between *the Church* and *the World*; between those who do, and those who do not make a credible, consistent, and public profession of serious religion. Under the Jewish economy, lepers, and others whom the law pronounced to be unclean, were solemnly and strictly excluded from the congregation, *lest they should defile the camp in which the Lord dwelt*. In the days of Nehemiah, it is recorded with evident approbation that they *separated from Israel ALL THE MIXED MULTITUDE*. The neglect of such godly discrimination is mentioned by Ezekiel as one of the heinous sins by which the anger of JEHOVAH was excited against Jerusalem. *Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned my holy things; THEY HAVE PUT NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE HOLY AND PROFANE, neither have they SHOWED DIFFERENCE between the unclean and the clean. Ye have brought into my sanctuary strangers uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to pollute it: Ezek., xxii., 26; xlv., 7.* These and other similar intimations of God's will, under the old dispensation, are abundantly confirmed by many express declarations of his pleasure which are found in the New Testament. The members of the visible churches of Christ are every where described as a distinct and peculiar society of men, gathered out of the world, receiving one another in the Lord, united by bonds of Christian love and order, and *by that union*, as well as by the apparent sanctity of their tempers and conduct, distinguished from the profane and unbelieving part of mankind. Now we ask, How can this most reasonable and Scriptural distinction between the professed disciples of Christ and those who are strangers, if not enemies, to his cause, be possibly maintained, and rendered sufficiently visible and conspicuous, but by the strict exclusion of the latter class of persons from meeting with the former in their private assemblies—in their assemblies for such special exercises of piety and brotherly love as belong to members of the Church alone, and as can not, from their very nature, be common to saints and sinners, to the Church and the world conjointly? To confound or obscure, by indiscriminate admission to these holy assemblies, those differences which God himself has established, is no light evil. “When the keys of the Church,” says the great BAXTER, “are not used as they ought, to shut out the impenitent and wicked, nor to difference between the precious and the vile, it hardeneth multitudes in their ungodliness, and persuadeth them that they are really of the same family of Christ as the godly are, because they are partakers of the same holy ordinances.” Such laxity must tend, at least, to make men careless about entering into close fellowship with Christians, since it permits them to enjoy many of those outward privileges which belong to religious society, without submitting to its wholesome restraints and scriptural regulations. Every plan which increases this great evil, already too



fashionable among our congregation, we are bound in duty most strenuously to discountenance, as equally detrimental to the Christian cause in general, and to the spiritual interests of particular individuals.

Another important branch of Christian discipline consists in suspending or rejecting from all religious fellowship and intercourse those who have formerly been acknowledged as brethren, if they fall into such gross and scandalous sins as may call for public expressions of disapprobation and censure, or if they will not receive, with becoming submission and humility, those private rebukes and admonitions which the Church or society, by its officers, may have deemed it proper to administer. The following are a specimen of the various passages of Scripture which not only authorize, but require such expulsions: *I have written unto you NOT TO KEEP COMPANY, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one, NO, NOT TO EAT. PUT AWAY from among yourselves that wicked person: 1 Cor., v., 11, 13. A man that is a heretic, that is, as the context shows, a man that is factious and contentious, and thereby promotes unnecessary schisms and divisions in the Church, after the first and second admonition, REJECT: Titus, iii., 10. If he, an offending brother, refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican: Matt., xviii., 17.* These passages sufficiently point out the duty of Christian societies to exclude disorderly professors from their communion after due reproof, and they also point out the conduct which ought to be observed toward persons thus excluded both by churches and by individuals. They clearly prohibit all religious connection with them, until, by confessing their faults, and by other evidences of sincere repentance, they are rendered fit to be received anew into the communion of the faithful. How, then, is it consistent with the holy discipline here enjoined to admit all persons promiscuously, and, *among the rest, persons excluded* from the body for scandalous immoralities, into meetings of the kind now referred to? Is not this to *keep company* with them in the way most expressly forbidden? Is such association with them at all calculated to show that we view them as unworthy to be members of a Christian society, and consider them as heathen men and publicans? Does it not rather render us partakers of their evil deeds, and is it not, in effect, to abet them in their crimes, and encourage them in obstinacy and impenitence? Such a practice exposes religion itself, and religious people at large, to the obloquies of the world, opens the mouth of those who are seeking occasion to blaspheme, and lays a stumbling-block in the way of the weak and inexperienced. Besides, this ill-judged and unscriptural tenderness is real cruelty even to those whom it is designed to favor and indulge. One object of ecclesiastical censures and expulsions is to promote the repentance and restoration of the offender. Such exercises of discipline against the unruly and disorderly are nothing less than *means of grace*

when managed on the part of the Church with strict conformity to the laws of Christ, and received with due consideration and humility on the part of the unhappy persons against whom they are directed. They are God's own ordinance, and God is ready to grant his blessing to render them effectual. Hence St. Paul, when requiring the Corinthians to inflict ecclesiastical punishment on the incestuous person, assigns this as the reason and end of that punishment, *that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus*. And when he commands the Thessalonians to have no company with a disobedient and disorderly professor, he states this as his motive for the injunction, *that he may be ashamed*. (1 Cor., v., 5; 2 Thess., iii., 14.) But it is evident that this end of Christian discipline is counteracted, and the proper effect and influence of it are diminished, if not wholly prevented, by allowing among us a religious meeting conducted on the plan of that in North Street. Persons under the righteous censure of the body, and excluded from it on the fullest proof of immoral or grossly inconsistent conduct, may easily obtain access to this meeting. They may come to it as God's people cometh, and sit in it as God's people. Their exclusion from us is but nominal and apparent while so many of our own members and leaders thus perversely persist to hold fellowship with them. They are neither ashamed nor humbled in consequence of their expulsion from us, for they still enjoy their wonted facility of admission into *one of our* private assemblies. The edge of the sword of discipline is thus blunted. They laugh at the censures for which they should have sorrowed and wept; harden their hearts against the Church and its ministers; despise its reproofs and admonitions, and turn into an occasion of additional sin and criminality that which ought to have produced contrition, confession, and conversion. If one such irregular meeting be tolerated in defiance of all order—a meeting, too, for which there is no necessity whatsoever, which was never established or sanctioned in the usual way by the body of preachers and leaders, in whose appointment *alone* such meetings ought to originate, and a meeting which materially interferes with our own general band, held at the very same hour—if one such meeting, we say, be tolerated, why not more? If the doors of one of our private assemblies be thus thrown open to every invader, with what consistency can we refuse to wink at similar intrusions into all our bands, and love-feasts, and sacraments? And then what will become of Christian purity and discipline? or what are we to do with many explicit declarations and precepts of the Word of God? It seems to us that the practice we are reprobating is in fact a direct, though we believe not an intentional, attack on the kingly government of Christ in His Church. The advocates for this practice are willing that he should teach them as a prophet by the ministry of His word in public. They acknowledge him also as a priest, and are desirous to be justified by His blood and sanctified by His spirit. But when, as KING OF ZION and HEAD OF THE CHURCH, he

commands all who will be his disciples indeed to testify their loyalty and allegiance to him by openly separating themselves from the rebellious and unholy—by joining themselves as regular members to some orderly society and distinct community of Christians, according to the plan of the New Testament, by submitting to the scriptural authority and direction of those who are “over them in the Lord,” and by avoiding all needless familiarity, and, much more, all religious connection, all unnecessary intercourse in holy things, with sinners, and worldlings, and apostate professors—when Christ requires *these* proofs of love and attachment, then they shrink, and hesitate, and remonstrate. *This* yoke they are not prepared to bear; *this* part of the Savior’s burden they can not be persuaded to carry. Then they talk loudly of *natural rights* and of *Christian liberty*, as if, because we have no master on earth, we had therefore none in heaven; as if any man could have a natural right to neglect or supersede the positive ordinance of Jesus Christ; as if Christian liberty consisted in a license to violate at pleasure the institutions of the Gospel, to trample on the discipline of the Church, and to despise or vilify those by whom that discipline is conscientiously administered! We believe that the persons whose views we oppose are not *aware* that such principles as these are implied in the practice which they defend; but, while we cheerfully render this justice to their *intentions*, we can not but express our free opinion as to the anti-Christian nature and tendency of their *conduct*.\*

5. The last objection which we shall urge to the plan which has been followed at North Street is its contrariety to Methodistical usages and rules. It is a new and almost unheard-of thing among us; an *innovation* on the practice of the Christian Church at large, and an innovation on the established regulations of Methodism in particular. The resolution of the leaders’ meeting, in defense of which these arguments are offered, does not impose any *new* rule of action. The refusal to admit into our meetings for religious fellowship persons of whose moral character, or sincere desire to obtain instruction and salvation, we have not satisfactory evidence, is a custom as old as the Methodist societies. The rules which require it were in force, and were *known* to be in force, when the brethren who now violate them first joined our body. To those rules, therefore, as well as to all the rest, they have virtually engaged to submit, so long as they should choose to continue members of our society. These considerations alone ought to have convinced them

\* On the subject of discipline we will again quote the words of Mr. Baxter; words homely indeed, but forcible:

“Discipline is of great moment for the honor of Christ and his Church, that it may not be as impure as the infidel world, nor a swine-sty instead of a society of saints; and that it may be known that Christ came not as deceivers do, to get Himself a number of followers as bad as other men, but to sanctify a peculiar people to God, zealous of good works, and forsaking the world, the flesh, and the devil; and to keep Christians from the snare and the shame of infectious and wicked associates; and, finally, to keep sin under open disgrace.”—BAXTER on Matthew xviii.

that, even if their proceedings could be proved *lawful*, they were, however, highly *inexpedient*. Was it not their duty to "give no" needless "offense to the Church of God?" Ought not individuals, where conscience is not plainly concerned, to yield to the general wish and judgment of their brethren? Hath not the Lord *required* this, when he says, "Obey them who have the rule over you;" and, "Submit yourselves one to another in the fear of God?" Is it meet that the *many* should be governed by the *few*; or that the *few*, if they think it right to remain in connection with us, should peaceably subject themselves to the solemn decisions of the *many*? Surely, the constant and long-established usages of the society, even though they were not *expressly* sanctioned by Scripture, if strictly conformable to the sense and spirit of its general rules, are not on slight grounds to be violated. This may be fairly inferred from the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor., xi., 16: *If any man seem to be contentious, WE HAVE NO SUCH CUSTOM, NEITHER THE CHURCHES OF GOD.*

We can not, very dear friends, dismiss this subject without remarking to you that, for the sake of peace and union, we have long been silent when perhaps we ought to have borne a faithful testimony against what we could not cordially approve of.

For several years, some of our members in different societies have appeared remarkably zealous in public worship, and have shown a disposition to assume the name of *Revivalists*: but a wish to preserve the union of the body induced us to check, with constant care, every destinction that in the least tended to a party spirit. A revival of genuine religion where it is low, and its extension where it is prosperous, will, we trust, ever have our best wishes, and those friends who act according to the Word of God our ready and cheerful co-operation. For some of those persons above-mentioned we have a very high esteem, and had all of them evidenced the same Christian temper, we should have heartily rejoiced in the fruit of their labors. But in many of them there has appeared a manifest want of genuine HUMILITY. Do they think soberly of themselves, as they ought to think? Do they ever doubt the strength of their own judgment, or generally express themselves with becoming modesty on religious subjects? Are they easily entreated? Do they show an openness of mind to conviction? We must with grief declare that we have had no proper evidence of such a spirit, although it be the brightest ornament of the Christian character.

What has added to our fear that the preceding observation is but too just, is the degree of *censoriousness* which persons of this description have shown. Christians and ministers of the Gospel, however eminent for holiness, age, and usefulness, if they can not see things in the same light with them, or can not go to all their lengths of noise and shouting in the worship of God, are viewed by them as "dead professors," "formal worshippers," "dry sticks," "dull souls," as "having nothing of the life of religion," etc., etc., etc. Where is the love that hopeth all things?



Where are Christian candor and kindness? If such be the fruit of what some have falsely called a revival of religion, we pray the Father of mercies to preserve all our dear people from it.


Nor can we approve of the noise and rant which have been encouraged by those persons in their religious exercises, because we conceive them to be inconsistent with that reverence which ought to be felt by every one who approaches the majesty of heaven. The Holy Scriptures call for fear and reverence in all those who appear before God in his worship: Psalm lxxxix., 7; Eccles., v., 1, 2; Hebrews, xii., 28, 29. If we look at the heavenly host as represented to the Prophet Isaiah (chap. vi., 2, 3), and the effect which that representation had upon his mind, we shall perceive that clear views of the Divine Being will produce a sacred awe, and abase the spiritual worshiper as in the dust before him. But the ignorant, untimely vociferations of some persons who are fond of noise, do, in our opinion, savor much of *irreverence* of spirit.

Our wish, desire, and prayer to God for you, our dear people, is, that you may escape these and all other evils, and that you may be Christians indeed in principle and practice; in the Church, the family, and the closet; that you may, in all your transactions with men, adorn your Christian profession, and shine as lights in the world. We ardently desire that you may be clear as to your acceptance with the Father through Christ, and that the God of hope may fill you with all joy and peace in believing. We beseech you, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies to him a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable, as your reasonable service. For you, as a people, the Lord hath done great things; but he is both able and willing to do for you exceeding abundantly, above all that you ask or think, according to the power that worketh in you.

While, therefore, we caution you against disorder and confusion, and the evils which have been noticed, we wish you to be equally guarded against lukewarmness and sloth. The religion of Christ is an operative principle. Faith *worketh* by love. Hence we read of *the work of faith*, *the labor of love*, and *the patience of hope*. Let us all unite in fervently pleading with the Lord that his work among us may more than ever prosper, and that his truth may universally prevail. Your expectation of good has been raised by what you have lately known of the Savior's love. You hope to see this society more pure, more united, and more prosperous, than ever. May your hope be speedily realized! This will exceedingly rejoice the hearts of your affectionate brethren,

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